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*John Miller*  
THE *from the*  
HISTORY *Charles M. B.*  
OF

SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM

ITS FIRST EUROPEAN DISCOVERY

TO ITS

ERECTION INTO A REPUBLIC:

WITH

A SUPPLEMENTARY CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

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BY WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS,  
Author of "The Yemassee," "The Partisan," "Damsel of Darien," &c.

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CHARLESTON.

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1840.

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ACCORDING TO THE ACT OF CONGRESS, IN THE YEAR 1840,  
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TO THE YOUTH OF SOUTH CAROLINA,  
THIS RECORD OF THE DEEDS, THE TRIALS AND VIRTUES  
OF THEIR ANCESTORS,  
IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED  
BY THEIR FRIEND AND COUNTRYMAN,  
THE AUTHOR.

Maryland Hist. Soc. 7/10/00 3-17-66 P. 2402





## P R E F A C E.

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The volume here submitted to the reader, is an attempt to supply what seemed to the writer a popular desideratum. A wish to provide an only daughter with a history of the country in which she was born and lived, first led him to this conviction. He found it no easy matter to place before her the materials necessary to convey the desired information. He had, it is true, the several works already devoted to this subject. The various histories of Hewatt, Ramsay, Moultrie, &c., were all in his collection; but volumes so cumbrous, and so loaded as they are with prolix disquisition, and unnecessary if not irrelevant detail, he felt convinced were in no respect suited to the unprepared understanding and the ardent temper of the young. These authors wrote, generally, at a period when the doctrines of popular representation, of suffrage, self government and many other principles, regarded as essential to the preservation of social liberty, were either of novel suggestion or very imperfectly understood. It seemed necessary, and was, therefore, proper, in that early day, that they should be discussed at length. These discussions overloaded the narrations of the historian and impaired their interest. They were cumbered with opinions now regarded as truisms, which too greatly trespassed on the dominions of simple truth. So soon as the public mind had decided these questions, the discussions upon them necessarily sunk out of sight, and involved in their own oblivion the histories upon which they had been grafted. The latter, accordingly, ceased to be sought after, either for amusement or instruction; and finally, and by a natural transition, were thrust away into that general lumber house of

“things that on earth were lost or were abused,”

a sort of Astolfo's mansions of the moon,

“Which safely treasures up

Whate'er was wasted in our earthly state—”

the upper shelves of the library—where, frowning in immemorial dust and dignity, they enjoy the time honored epithets of “books of reference”—a classification for which their venerable writers never stipulated, and which would have very imperfectly rewarded the severe toils of elaborate authorship.

Valuable in this point of view, they are scarcely of present value in any other. To the great portion of the reading community they are entirely useless. For this reason, though long since out of print, a re-publication of them is considered unnecessary, and would, indeed, involve in serious pecuniary loss the most cautious publisher. The late re-print of Hewatt, Archdale and others, in the historical collections of Mr. Carroll, offers no exception to the general justice of this remark. A reluctant subscription failed to pay the expenses of printing, and but for the liberal appropriation of the state legislature, after the risk had been incurred, that enterprising young citizen might have had reason to repent the rashness of his patriotism. He certainly would have gained nothing from his publication beyond the applause which is due to his public spirit.

The cumbrousness of the works, of South Carolina history, already existing, suggests another serious obstacle to their circulation as popular volumes. They are necessarily expensive. Books for schools and for the popular reader—the two objects for which the present abridgement is designed—must be cheap as well as compact. Strange as the fact may appear, this truth seems to have been only of recent discovery. It is only of late days that it has been thought advisable to recognize the poor among the other classes of book readers. A few years back, our authors labored under the ambition of bringing forth big

books,—corpulent quartos if possible, but octavos at all hazards; and with this ambition they seldom stopped short at a single volume. It would seem that they regarded the size of the work as no imperfect token of the writer's merit. It followed from this ambition—an ambition which in most cases effectually defeated its own object—that the quantity of the material furnished but a very uncertain rule in the construction of the volume. Its dimensions being arbitrary, what was wanting in fact was supplied by conjecture, and when conjecture halted and grew irresolute or blind, opinion came in to her relief, and between discussion and declamation, she hobbled on through the requisite number of pages to the end of the chapter. The present age, if less ambitious, and no wiser, is certainly more economical in this respect. Small volumes, neat abridgements, and the judicious separation of subjects, not necessarily connected, into their proper classes, realizes all the natural energies of a free press, and places the learning and the wisdom of the past and the present within the reach of the humblest and the poorest of mankind.

Cheap literature to the poor is of scarcely less importance, indeed, than was the discovery of the art of printing to mankind at large. The chief importance of this grand discovery, resting entirely on its power for diffusing knowledge rapidly through the world, it necessarily follows that the author who makes his book costly through its cumbrousness, adopts a mode of publication, which, to a great extent, must defeat the power of the press. The time occupied in printing, and the expense of the work when printed, lessen greatly the infinite superiority which the modern printer possesses over the ancient scribe. We may instance the valuable work of Johnson, the life of Greene, as incurring, from its plan, some of these objections and disadvantages. That work abounds in materials which, properly classified, would have made a dozen popular volumes. In its present state, the toil of the reader is continual and great to separate the narrative from the discussion, which equally

precedes and follows it—which wraps it, as in a cloud, and makes it difficult for the memory to compass and retain the several remote incidents which are necessary to a true comprehension of the subject. The result is, that a work which abounds in copious details and much spirited writing, and which relates to periods of the most exciting interest in our national and domestic history, is seldom read, and almost as unfrequently referred to. And yet no work of American biography, could the author have descended to the humbler task of making an abridgement, would have more amply compensated both publisher and reader, than the same work stripped of its controversial additaments and contracted to the moderate compass of a single duodecimo.

To this work of Johnson, we acknowledge our large indebtedness. We have relied upon it in preference to all others, during that long period, crowded with fluctuating events, which followed the disastrous defeat of Gates at Camden, to the close of the revolutionary war ; and though studiously avoiding the expression of any opinion upon the vexed questions—some of them of very small importance to the result—which the venerable author was, perhaps, only too fond of discussing, we freely avow our full confidence in the general fidelity of his statements, and in his habitual desire to discover and to declare the truth.

For the account of the early settlements of the Huguenots, in and about Carolina, as contained in this volume, the simple and affecting narrative of Laudonniere in Hakluyt, has been chiefly relied on. The work of Hewatt, the narrations of Archdale, Glenn and others, contained in the “*Historical Collections*” have furnished the authorities next ensuing, down to the conflict of the colonies with parliament and the repeal of the stamp act. To Moultrie, Ramsay, Drayton and Johnson we owe what follows, to the close of the revolution, and the erection of South Carolina, from a rebelling colony, into an independent and republican state. These have been our chief sources of information ; though, in our progress, we



have found it advisable to consult Holmes, Bancroft, Grahame, and several other writers.

The pretensions of the present volume are exceedingly moderate. The aim of the writer, as already expressed, has been to provide a volume for the popular reader and for the use of schools—to supply the rising generation with such a history of the country as will enable them to satisfy their own curiosity and the inquiries of others. It is lamentable to perceive the degree of ignorance in which our people live, with regard to those events which made their ancestors famous, and which have given them equal station and security. To say that the great majority of our young people know little or nothing of the history of the state, is to do them no injustice. This ignorance was inevitable from the unwieldy cumbrousness and heavy cost of the volumes in which our history was locked up. To steer clear of the great errors of my predecessors, my first aim was condensation. My work, therefore, is little more than an abridgement. I have sought rather to be useful than original, and I have never suffered myself to be excursive. I have seldom ventured upon conjectures or speculations of my own, and in no instance where the conjecture would have called for, or merited, discussion. In the course of the narrative I have not scrupled to make occasional use of the very language of my authority, wherever it seemed particularly comprehensive or felicitous. To place the facts in a simple form—in a just order—to give them an expressive and energetic character—to couple events closely, so that no irrelevant or unnecessary matter should interpose itself between the legitimate relation of cause and effect; and to be careful that the regular stream of the narrative should flow on without interruption to the end of its course, have been with me primary objects.

To the mind of the youthful reader, the advantages of such a mode of condensation appears to me of obvious importance. The unbroken progress of connected events enchains the attention and beguiles while it informs the thought, until reading ceases to be study, and instruction

persuades to industry through the medium of amusement. To say how far I have been successful in this design, must be the business of the reader. With a confident reliance on his justice and judgment, I leave my labors in his hands.

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*Note.*—Occasional, though small inaccuracies, will be found in this volume; the natural consequence of the author's remoteness from the place of publication. Some faults and trifling omissions are also to be amended. These will be corrected in any future edition of the work. For the present, they must be left to the good sense and indulgence of the public.



# THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

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## CHAPTER I.

The Carolinas, North and South, forming twin provinces under the British dominion in America, were anciently a part of that extensive territory, known to the European world under the several names of Virginia, Florida, and New France. They extended northwardly along the coast, until they reached the confines of Virginia; southwardly as far as the Bay of Mexico, and stretched away, for many hundred miles, into the dense forests of the interior. Three great nations contended, on grounds of nearly equal justice, for the possession of the soil.

England laid claim to it, according to one class of writers, by virtue of a grant from the Roman Pontiff; by others, her right was founded upon a supposed discovery of its shores in 1497, by John Cabot, an Italian, and his son, Sebastian, both in the service of Henry the Seventh. The Cabots approached the continent of North America, and penetrated some of its bays and rivers, nearly fourteen months before it was beheld by Columbus; but made no attempt at occupancy.

The pretensions of Spain were based upon similar and equally worthless grounds. Juan Ponce de Leon, under her commission, discovered and traversed a neighboring territory, to which he gave the name of Florida,—a name which, in her ancient spirit of arrogant assumption, was made to cover a region of measureless extent, which she did not compass, and vainly sought to conquer. Ponce was beaten by the natives, and driven from the country in disgrace. He fled to Cuba, where he died of a wound received in his fruitless expedition.

To him succeeded one Velasquez de Ayllon, who sailed from St. Domingo with two ships. He made the shores of South Carolina, at the mouth of a river, to which he gave the name of the Jordan. This river is now known by the Indian name of Combahee. Here he was received by the natives with a shy timidity at first, the natural result of their wonder at the strange ships, and strangely habited visitors. Their timidity soon subsided into kindness, and they treated the Spaniards with good nature and hospitality. The country they called Chicora, a name which was probably conferred upon it by some wandering tribe, and not of permanent recognition, since we hear of it no more from subsequent voyagers. An interchange of friendly offices soon took place between the Indians and their visitors, and the latter were easily persuaded to visit the ships in numbers. Watching the moment when their decks were most crowded, the perfidious Spaniards suddenly made sail, carrying nearly two hundred of this innocent and confiding people into captivity. Velasquez, insensible to all feelings but those of mercenary exultation

at the success of his unworthy scheme, pursued his way to St. Domingo, where a slave market had been already established, by the policy of Las Casas, who proposed to supply, with a hardier population, the place and numbers of the feeble natives, who were perishing fast under the unmeasured cruelties of their iron-handed masters. But his triumph was not entirely without its qualifications. One of his vessels foundered before he reached his port, and captors and captives alike were swallowed up in the seas together. His own vessel survived, but many of his captives sickened and died; and he himself was reserved for the time, only to suffer a more terrible form of punishment. Though he had lost more than half of the ill-gotten fruits of his expedition, the profits which remained were still such as to encourage him to a renewal of his enterprize. To this he devoted his whole fortune, and with three large vessels and many hundred men, he once more descended upon the coast of Carolina.

As if the retributive Providence had been watchful of the place, no less than the hour of justice, it so happened that, at the mouth of the very river where his crime had been committed, he was destined to meet his punishment. His largest vessel was stranded as he reached the point he aimed at, and the infuriate natives, availing themselves of the event, set upon the struggling Spaniards in the sea. Two hundred of them were massacred, and, according to one account, though this has been denied, Velasquez himself, with others of his company, fell victims to the cannibal propensities of the savages. Whatever may be the doubts cast upon

this latter statement, it is surely not improbable. Nothing is positively known of him after this event, and what we have of conjecture, describes him as living a life of ignominy, and dying miserably at last.

The claim of France to the possession of the Carolinas, rested upon the discoveries of one John Verazzani, a Florentine, who was sent out in 1523, by Francis the First. He reached the coast somewhere, as is supposed, in the latitude of Wilmington, North Carolina. Here he found the country full of beauty to the eye. The forests were noble, and the various perfumes which reached the seamen from the shore, intoxicated them with a thousand oriental fancies. The yellow sands gave ample promise of gold, which was the prime motive for most of the adventures of the time; and the hospitality of the Indians suffered no obstacle to prevent the free examination of their country by the strangers.

Verazzani describes the natives as "gentle and courteous in their manners; of sweet and pleasant countenance, and comely to behold." Their population, according to the imperfect account which he has given us, was "numerous; well formed in limb; having black and great eyes, with a cheerful and steady look; not strong of body, yet sharp witted; nimble, and exceeding great runners." The women are described as handsome, and of "comely forms;" and, which seems to have been not unusual among the North American savages, the government of the tribe was in the hands of a woman.

They seem to have possessed proofs of a more decided civilization than were apparent among the northern tribes. They dwelt in log-houses, so covered with



matting as to be impervious to rain and cold ; they had boats, wrought by flint and fire from mighty trees, some of which were twenty feet in length ; and, a better evidence yet in their favor, they treated the European strangers with an urbanity, grace, and kindness, which remind us of the patriarchal virtues enumerated in bible history. One of the crew of Verazzani, attempting to swim ashore, was so much injured in passing through the surf, that he lay senseless on the beach. They ran to his relief, rescued him from the waves, rubbed his limbs, gave him refreshment, and returned him in safety to the vessel.

Thus far, it appears that these three great nations, through their agents, did little more than look upon the country to which they asserted claims, which they strove afterwards to maintain by a resort to every violence and crime. Subsequently, two armies of Spain entered Florida ; the first, under Narvaez, well known as an unsuccessful adventurer in Mexico, and destined to be as little prosperous in Florida. He failed, was driven from the country, and perished in his flight, at sea. He was followed, a few years after, by an abler, if not a braver man. This was Ferdinand de Soto, a gentleman of good birth and fortune, who signalized himself in Peru, under the lead of Pizarro, and was considered one of the most eminent Spanish captains of the time. He projected the invasion of Florida, and, at his own expense, provided a noble armament of seven ships and a thousand men for this object. The Spaniards reached the bay of Espiritu Santo early in 1539, and had scarcely landed and pitched their tents for the night, when

they were attacked, with partial success, by a large body of the natives. This was but a foretaste of what was yet in reserve for them. Undiscouraged by this reception, they boldly advanced into the country, upon that miserable march, which has been most erroneously styled "a conquest of Florida." Never was human adventure so unhappily misnamed. So far from De Soto conquering Florida, the Floridians conquered him.—Harrassed at every footstep—yielding bloody tribute at every stream that lay in their path, every thicket that could harbor an enemy, or mask an ambush—the Spaniards fought their way onward, entirely hopeless of return. The path before them alone lay open, and that was also filled with foes no less resolute than those they had left—as determined as they were strong, and as audacious as they were adroit. Nothing could exceed their audacity—their forward valor—their sleepless and persevering hate. De Soto reached the Mississippi, and was buried beneath its waters, a broken-hearted man; having discovered, in the significant language of one of our own historians, nothing in all his progress "so remarkable as his burial place." The wretched remnant of his army, reduced to half their number, escaped, after a tedious period of suffering, to the shores of the gulf, whence they made their way to the river Panuco.

Nearly thirty years elapsed, after the miscarriage of this enterprize, before either of the three great claimants of the soil renewed the attempt to occupy it. The strifes of empire at home, and, perhaps, the melancholy results of all previous attempts, served to dis-



courage the rival monarchs, no less than their subjects, from prosecuting adventures which had hitherto been attended by nothing but disaster.

At length, in 1561, the eye of the celebrated Huguenot leader, Coligny, Admiral of France, was turned upon the shores of the new world, as a place of refuge to which the Protestants might fly and be secure from those persecutions which they suffered at home, and from the worse evils which he saw awaited them. With this object in view, he succeeded in obtaining from Charles the Ninth, permission to plant a colony on the borders of Florida. This expedition was entrusted to the command of John Ribault, of Dieppe, an experienced seaman, a brave soldier, and a staunch Protestant. He was attended by some of the young nobility of France, and his troops were mostly veterans. These were all, most probably, voluntary adventurers. Charles was too bigoted a Catholic to contribute to the prosperity of a colony which he did not protect, and refused to avenge. His commission to the colonists, which was sufficiently ample, was simply intended to rid himself of a portion of his subjects, who had shown themselves as stubborn as they were intelligent, and for whom he subsequently devised a more summary mode of removal, on the dreadful day of St. Bartholomew.

With two ships, Ribault set sail from France on the 18th of February, 1562. His aim was to reach the river Combahee, called "the Jordan," to a knowledge of which the French had been already introduced by the discovery and disaster of Velasquez. Sailing too far to the south, he first made land in the lati-

tude of St. Augustine, where he discovered the river St. John's, to which he gave the name of May River. Thence he pursued a northerly course along the coast, still in search of the Jordan, and naming the various streams which he discovered as he proceeded, after well known rivers of France. The St. Mary's, for the time, became the Seine; the Satilla, the Somme; the Altamaha, the Loire; the Ogechee, the Garonne; and the Savannah, the Gironde. The names which he conferred upon the rivers of South Carolina, they still partially retain. The Belle is now the "May," and the Grande, the "Broad." While he proceeded in his search for the "Jordan," his two vessels were separated by a storm, in which one of them was supposed, for a time, to be lost; but she had anchored in a bay which seemed the outlet of some magnificent river. To this bay, "because of the fairnesse and largenesse thereof," he gave the name of Port Royale.

"Here," says the narrative of Ribault, "wee stroke our sailes, and cast anker at ten fathom of water; for the depth is such when the sea beginneth to flow, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the arguzies of Venice, may enter in there."

The delighted Huguenots landed upon the northern bank of the entrance of Port Royal, which they believed to be one of the mouths of the Jordan, and gave themselves up for a time to the contemplation of the aspects of the new world, which seemed to them no less beautiful than strange. The mighty oaks, and the "infinite store of cedars," enforced their wonder, and as they passed through the woods, they saw "turkey cocks flying in the

forests, partridges, grey and red, little different from our's, but chiefly in bigness ;" they "heard within the woods the voices of stags, of bears, of hyenas, of leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts, unknown unto us." "Being delighted with the place," they set themselves "to fishing with nets, and caught such a number of fish that it was wonderful."

Having refreshed themselves with the fruits, the flesh, and the fish of this prolific region, with a curiosity stimulated by what they had already seen, the Huguenots ascended the river about fifteen leagues, in their pinaces, when they beheld a group of Indians, who, at their approach, "fled into the woods, leaving behind them a young lucerne, which they were a turning upon a spit ; for which cause the place was called Cape Lucerne." Proceeding farther, Ribault came to an arm of the river, which he entered, leaving the main stream. "A little while after, they began to espy divers other Indians, both men and women, half hidden within the woods ;" these "were dismayed at first, but soon after emboldened, for the captain caused stores of merchandize to be showed them openly, whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well unto them, and then they made a sign that we should come on land, which we would not refuse." The savages saluted Ribault after their barbarous fashion, and brought skins, baskets made of palm leaves, and a few pearls, which they freely bestowed upon the strangers. They even began to build an harbour, to protect their visitors from the sun ; but the Huguenots refused to linger. There is a tradition among the Indians, which preserves correctly the events of this

meeting between themselves and the Europeans, and the very spot on which it took place is supposed, and with strong probability, to be that now occupied by the town of Coosawhatchie, a name borrowed from the aborigines.

On an island—by some conjectured to be Lemon Island, by others, Beaufort—Ribault raised a monument of free stone, on which the arms of France were engraved, and took possession of the fertile domain, in the name of his sovereign. Here he built a fortress, “in length but a sixteen fathom, and thirteen in breadth, with flanks according to the proportion thereof,” in which he placed provisions and warlike munitions, and to which he gave the name of Fort Charles, in honor of the reigning monarch of France. At the persuasion of Ribault, twenty-six of his men consented to garrison his fort, and when he had provided, as he supposed, sufficiently for their safety, he set sail for France, leaving one captain Albert in command of the colony.



## CHAPTER II.

Ribault continued his voyage northwardly along the coast, but made no discoveries of any importance, and though he penetrated some rivers in his pinnace, he effected no landing. His crews became impatient for their own country. His officers congratulated him on having discovered "in six weeks, more than the Spaniards had done in two years in the conquest of their New Spaine;" and pleased and satisfied with this conviction, his prows were turned to the east. He reached France in safety; but the fires of civil war, which the sagacious mind of Coligny had anticipated, were already blazing in that kingdom. The admiral, struggling with dangers at home, and beset by powerful foes, against whom he could barely, and only transiently maintain himself, was in no condition to send supplies to the colony in Carolina. The forlorn few who remained in that wild country, were left to themselves, to their own enterprize, courage, and industry—qualities which, if exercised, might have amply sustained them among the hospitable natives; but which seem to have been utterly banished from their minds, by rashness, improvidence, and the most unhappy dissensions.

When first left by their companions, the twenty-six Frenchmen, under their captain, Albert, duly impressed with their isolation, proceeded, without intermission of labor, to fortify themselves in their habitations. This done, they proceeded to explore the country, and made

allies of several Indian tribes, north and south of their fortress. Audusta, the king or chief of one of these tribes—a name in which we may almost recognize the modern Edisto—was in particular their friend. He sent them ambassadors, invited them into his country, furnished them with provisions, and admitted them to a sight of those ceremonies of his religion, which, among the Indian tribes, have been most usually kept secret from strangers. Some of these ceremonies were curious, like those of most savages; an odd mixture of the grotesque and sanguinary. The scene of the performance, and one of their superstitious festivals, is thus described by Laudonniere. “The place was a great circuit of ground, with open prospect, and round in figure. All who were chosen to celebrate the feast, were painted, and trimmed with rich feathers of divers colors. When they had reached the place of Toya—such was the name of their deity—they set themselves in order, following three other Indians, who differed in gait and in gesture from the rest.”

“Each of them bore in his hand a tabret, dancing and singing in a lamentable tune, when they entered the sacred circuit. After they had sung and danced awhile, they ran off through the thickest woods, like unbridled horses, where they carried on a portion of their ceremonies in secret from the crowd. The women spent the day in tears, as sad and woful as possible: and in such rage they cut the arms of the young girls with muscle shells, that the blood followed, which they flung into the air, crying out as they did so, He-Toya—He-Toya—He-Toya.” They had three priests, to whom they gave the



name of Iawas. These presided over their sacrifices, were their only physicians, and professed to deal in magic. They held almost unlimited power over the minds of their people, and dictated in all the counsels of the country. It was fortunate for the French that they took no alarm at their presence, and suffered the hospitality of the aborigines to pursue a natural direction.

The provisions of the colonists soon failed them, and they were compelled to turn to the Indians for supplies. The humble stock of the savages was freely shared with them; "they gave them part of all the victuals which they had, and kept no more to themselves than would serve to sow their fields." This excessive liberality had the effect of sending the natives to the woods, that they might live upon roots until the time of harvest: and having thus exhausted the resources of the people of Audusta, the French turned to other tribes—to king Couexis, "a man of might and renown in this province, which maketh his abode toward the south, abounding at all seasons, and replenished with quantity of milk, corne, and beans"—and to "king Ouade, a brother of Couexis, no less wealthy than the former. The liberality of Ouade, whose territories lay upon the river Belle, (May,) was not less than that of Audusta. He received the French kindly, in a house hanged about with tapestry feathers of divers colors." "Moreover, the place where the king took his rest was covered with white coverlets, embroidered with devices of very witty and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a fringe dyed in the color of scarlet." This prince commanded their boats to be filled with provisions, and presented them with

six coverlets, like those which decorated his couch. The French were not wanting in gratitude, which they testified by similar presents, and the parties separated, equally pleased and satisfied. The colonists had scarcely returned to the fort, when it was destroyed by fire; a catastrophe which was soon repaired by their Indian neighbors. They hurried to the spot, and with an industry only equalled by their generous enthusiasm, a large company, under the direction of two of their chiefs, rebuilt the fabric in the short space of twelve hours.

But no generosity of the Indians could enable them to supply the continual demands which the colonists made for food. The resources of Ouade failed them in like manner with those of Audusta, and a portion of the company was sent to explore the country. They were next supplied by Couexis, who added to his gifts a certain number of exceeding fair pearls, some pieces of fine chrystal, and certain silver ore. This last gift inflamed the minds of the colonists with new and fatal desires. They eagerly demanded whence the chrystal and the silver came, and were told that the "inhabitants of the country did dig the same at the foot of certain high mountains, where they found it in very good quantity."

Hitherto, the French had conducted themselves in a proper and becoming manner. They had dealt justly and gently with the natives, and had been treated kindly. "But," in the language of the old chronicle, from which we quote, "misfortune, or rather the just judgment of God, would have it, that those who could not be overcome by fire nor water, should be undone by their own selves. This is the common fashion of men who cannot continue

in one state, and had rather overthrow themselves, than not attempt some new thing daily."

The first civil troubles among the colonists began about a common soldier, named Guernache. He was a drummer of the band, and for some offence, the character of which is unknown, but which has been represented as too small to have justified the severity with which he was treated, he was hung without trial, by the orders of captain Albert. This commander appears to have been of a stern, uncompromising, and perhaps tyrannical temper. Such, at least, is the description given of him by those whom he ruled—a description not to be received without great caution, since it is made to justify their own violent and insubordinate conduct while under him. His usual treatment of his men was said to be harsh and irritating; and, while they were yet aroused and angry because of his alledged injustice to Guernache, he added still farther to the provocation by degrading another soldier, a favorite of the people, named La Chere. This man he banished to a desert island about nine miles from the fort, and there left him to starve without provisions; his avowed desire being, that he should perish of hunger. This conduct, if truly reported, might well justify the mutiny which followed. A threat of their imprudent commander, to treat in like manner those who complained of this injustice, precipitated a revolt. The colonists conspired against him, rose suddenly in arms and slew him. This done, they brought the banished La Chere back from his place of exile, where they found him almost famished. They then chose a leader from their ranks in the person of one Nicholas Barre', a man described by Laudonniere

as worthy of commendation, and one who knew so well how to acquit himself of the charge, that all rancour and dissension ceased among them. Famine, and the loneliness of their condition, contributed to dispose them peaceably.

Hearing nothing from France, hope sickened within them, and they yearned to return to their homes. They resolved, by unanimous consent, to leave the wilderness in which, however hospitable had been the natives, they had found little besides suffering and privation. Though without artificers of any kind, they commenced building a pinnace. Necessity supplied the deficiencies of art; and the brigantine rose rapidly under their hands. The luxuriant pine forests around them yielded resin and moss for caulking. The Indians brought them cordage for tackle; and their own shirts and bed linen furnished the sails. The brigantine was soon ready for sea, and a fair wind offering, the adventurers prepared to depart. The Indians, to whom they left all their unnecessary merchandize, beheld their departure with a lively sorrow; while the poor colonists themselves, "drunken with the too excessive joy which they had conceived for their returning into France, without regarding the inconstancy of the wind, put out to sea, and with so slender a supply of victuals, that the end of their enterprize became unlucky and unfortunate."

For a time, however, fortune smiled upon their progress. They had sailed, without mishap, a full third of their way, when they were surprised by a calm. For three weeks they made but twenty-five leagues; and to add to their trials, their supplies failed them. Twelve grains



of corn daily, were made to answer the cravings of their hunger; and even this resource, so carefully computed, lasted but a little while. Their shoes and leathern jerkins became their only remaining food, and death appeared among them, and relieved their misery by thinning their numbers. The picture of their distress is not yet complete. "Besides this extreme famine, which did so grievously oppress them, they were constrained to cast the water continually out, which on all sides entered into their barque." Each day added to their sufferings, so that, in the simple but strong language of the old chronicler, "being now more out of hope than ever, to escape this extreme peril, they cared not to cast out the water which now was almost ready to drown them, and as men resolved to die, every one fell down backwards and gave themselves over altogether, to the will of the waves." From this condition of despair, one among their number, the man La Chere, who had been exiled by captain Albert, and who seems to have been of a character to justify the interest which his people took in his fate, was the first to recover. He encouraged them to take heart, saying they could now have but a little way to sail, and assured them that if the wind held, they should make land within three days. This encouragement prompted them to renew their efforts. They recommenced the task of throwing out the water from their sinking vessel, and endured for three days longer without drink or food. At the end of this time, seeing no land, they once more gave themselves up to despair. The want of food was their greatest evil, and the same person, La Chere, whose words had encouraged them so long, again came to



their relief. He proposed that one of their number should die for the safety of the rest. The lot fell to himself, and without struggle or reluctance, he bared his neck to the stroke. His flesh, distributed equally among them, enabled them to bear a little longer, until "God of his goodness, using his accustomed favor, changed their sorrow into joy, and shewed unto them a sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remain a long time as men without sense; whereby they let the pinnace float this way or that way, without holding any right way or course." In this state they were picked up by an English vessel, which carried the few and feeble survivors of this expedition into England. Thus ended the first effort of the European world to found a permanent colony upon the continent of North America.

### CHAPTER III.

Meanwhile, a treacherous peace had been made between the imbecile Charles, and the Protestant part of his subjects. This peace enabled Coligny to direct his attention to the forlorn colony which had been left in Carolina. Its fate was as yet unknown in France. To relieve the colonists, three ships were given for the service, and placed under the command of Rene Laudonniere; a man of intelligence, a seaman rather than a soldier, who had been upon the American coast in a former voyage, and was supposed to be the most fitting that could be chosen, from many offering, to lead forth the present colony. Emigrants offered themselves in numbers; for Florida was, at this time, a country of romance. Men dreamed of rich mines of gold and silver in its bowels; they had heard truly of its fruits and flowers; and they believed, in addition, that, under its bland airs and genial influence, the duration of human life was extended. Laudonniere himself tells of natives whom he had seen, who were two hundred and fifty years old, yet had a reasonable hope of living forty or fifty years longer. These idle fancies, which could only have found credence at a period when the wonderful discoveries of Columbus and other captains, had opened the fountains of the marvellous beyond the control of the ordinary standards of human judgment, readily stimulated the passion for adventure, and the armament of Laudonniere was soon rendered complete and ready for the sea. A

voyage of sixty days brought the voyagers to the shores of New France, which they reached the 25th of June, 1564. They proceeded to May river, where they were received by the Indians with the warmest shows of friendship. They carried Laudonniere to see a pillar of stone which Ribault had set up in a former voyage, and the satisfaction of the Europeans may be imagined, when they beheld the pillar crowned with chaplets of laurels and other flowers, while its base was encircled with baskets of provisions, with which these generous children of the forest testified the unqualified measure of their friendship for their strange visitors. The Indians had learned glibly to pronounce the French word "ami," signifying "friend;" and with this word in their mouths, men and women followed in crowds the progress of the vessels, as they coasted along the shore, showing a degree of attachment for their visitors, which seems to have had the unusual effect of producing a corresponding kindness in return. The French did not abuse a confidence so courteously expressed, and the future pages of this narrative, however painful to read where the dealings of the Europeans with each other are recorded, bear few evidences of that cruelty and wrong towards the Indian, which blacken so many of the histories of European conquest.

Laudonniere, after some delays, in which he seemed to have almost forgotten one of the objects of his voyage, resumed it and proceeded northwardly, until he received tidings of the fate of the colony he came to succour. The news discouraged him in his design of visiting Port Royal. He stopped short, and for various reasons re-

solved upon establishing his new settlement at the mouth of the river May. A small hill was chosen, a little retired from the northern bank of the river, upon which he erected the arms of France; and with favorable auspices, springing rather from his hopes and fancies, than from any obvious superiority in the place of his choice over that which he had resolved to desert, he commenced the foundation of the second European fortress in North America. The site chosen, though greatly inferior to that of Port Royal, had its attractions also. "Upon the top of the hill," in the warm language of Laudonniere, "are nothing else but cedars, palmes, and bay trees, of so sovereign odor, that balme smelleth nothing in comparison. The trees were environed round with vines, bearing grapes in such quantity, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Touching the pleasure of the place, the sea may be seen plane and open from it; and more than five great leagues off, near the river Belle, a man may behold the meadows divided asunder into isles and islets, interlacing one another. Briefly, the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholick, would be forced to change their humour." The objections to Port Royal, exaggerated by the disastrous termination of the first settlement, are fitly opposed to this glowing description. "On the other side," says the same commander, "if we pass farther north to seek out Port Royal, it would be neither very profitable nor convenient; at least if we should give credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the haven were one of the fairest of the West Indies. In this case the question is not so much of the beauty of the place, as of



things necessary to sustain life. It is much more needful to us to plant in places plentiful of victual, than in goodly havens, fair, deep, and pleasant to the view. In consideration whereof, I was of opinion to seat ourselves about the river of May; seeing also, that in our first voyage we found the same only among all the rest, to abound in maize and corne, *besides the gold and silver that was found there; a thing that put me in hope of some happy discovery in time to come.*"

The fort was built in shape of a triangle; the landside, which looked westwardly, was faced by a little trench, and "raised with terraces, made in form of a battlement, nine foot high;" the river side was inclosed with "a palisado of planks of timber, after the manner that gabions are made." On the south side there was a bastion, which contained a room for the ammunition. The fabric was built of turf, fagots, and sand, and remains of this primitive fortress are said to have been since discovered. When finished, it was named with all due ceremonies, La Caroline, in honor of the reigning monarch. The name thus conferred, extended over the whole country, a full century before it was occupied by the English. It remained unchanged, and was adopted by them, as it equally served to distinguish their obligations to Charles II, of England, under whose auspices and charter the first permanent European colony was settled in Carolina.

Like their predecessors, the colonists under Laudonniere, were well received and kindly treated by the natives of the country. At the first this reception was natural enough. Pleased with the novelty of such an advent, the poor savages did not anticipate the constant



drain upon their limited resources, which would follow the coming of the French. Simple and uncalculating, they did not reflect how inadequate would be the supplies of their little corn crops, to meet the wants of so many additional mouths; and it was only when their own utter impoverishment and famine ensued from their unwise hospitality, that they became conscious of their error. When they withheld their stores, the necessities of the strangers overcame all their scruples. Laudonniere took an unbecoming part in their petty wars, robbed their granaries, and made enemies of all around him.

The inevitable consequences of such a condition of things, ensued among the colonists. Disaffection followed, the authority of their leader was defied, and mutinous disorders became frequent. The emigrants to a new country, at its first settlement, are generally of a desperate complexion. Those under Laudonniere were particularly so. The civil wars through which they had just passed in France, had given them a taste for insubordination; and appreciating their wants and habits, one La Roquette, a common soldier, conceived the idea of deposing his commander. He claimed to be a magician, and pretended, by reason of his art, to have discovered a mine of gold or silver, at no great distance up the river. He invited his comrades to join with him in effecting this discovery. He pledged his life on the issue. Some trifling acquisitions of silver which they had made, by trade among the Indians, strengthened his assurances, which soon became generally believed. He found an active coadjutor in another soldier, named La Genre, who had taken offence at Laudonniere, because he had been denied the

command of the packet which returned to France.— These wretches conspired the death of Laudonniere ; first by poison, then by an explosion of gunpowder. Their schemes failed, most probably through their own want of courage. Meanwhile, a captain Bourdet arrived at the settlement, with an additional body of soldiers from France, which timely event, perhaps, restrained the more open development of their hostility. Laudonniere, thus strengthened, seized this occasion to examine into the conduct of La Genre, who had shown himself the most active among the discontents. The chief officers were assembled for this purpose, but the criminal fled to the woods, and took shelter with the Indians. After the departure of Bourdet, the conspirators, no longer restrained by the presence of numbers, resumed their evil practices. Availing themselves of the sickness of their commander, they put themselves in complete armor, and under the guidance of three ringleaders, Fourneaux, La Croix, and Stephen le Genevois, they penetrated his chamber and seized upon his person. Depriving him of his arms, they carried him on board ship, where they extorted from him, under the most atrocious threats, a sort of passport or commission for the seas ; an instrument which they immediately employed to cover a premeditated course of piracy. They seized two of his vessels, and departed for the West India islands, where they succeeded in seizing upon the governor of Jamaica, and possessing themselves of considerable wealth besides. They demanded a large sum for his ransom, and in order to procure it, permitted him to send messengers to his wife. The wily governor contrived, by the same messengers, to apprise

the captains of his vessels, of his true situation. They came to his relief, and so completely were the pirates ensnared, that the governor, with all his ships and treasure, was rescued from their possession. One of the French vessels escaped under the guidance of the pilot, who had been forced by the pirates from Fort Caroline, and who, without their knowledge, carried her back to May river. Want of food compelled the pirates to return to the commander whom they had deserted, and the opportunity thus afforded for avenging his own wrong, and punishing the criminals against his authority, was not suffered to escape. Four of the chief conspirators were seized, condemned and executed, as an example to the rest ; and this summary justice done, the discontents and strifes of the colony were ended for a brief period.

Laudonniere was soon after this relieved from some of the cares of his government. Ribault arrived from France in command of a well appointed fleet, and with a commission to supercede him. Some mutual distrusts and jealousies between the two commanders, were reconciled after a friendly explanation, but the former, though offered equal authority with Ribault, resolved on yielding up his charge. His successor had scarcely commenced his duties, before he was beset by dangers of a new and formidable character. His fleet had been closely followed from Europe by one under the command of Pedro Melendez de Avilez, a Spanish captain of great renown at that period. In the command of a far superior force to that of Ribault, he seemed to be advised of all the movements of the latter ; and it is the conviction of most historians, that his master, the king of Spain, had been duly informed

by Charles IX. of France, that the Huguenot interest in the new world was one which it did not concern him to maintain. The indifference, at least, of the one Catholic monarch, readily surrendered to the tender mercies of another, a people who had audaciously withdrawn themselves from that spiritual control of Rome, which they both equally acknowledged. There is no question that the Spaniards knew of all the movements, objects, and strength of armament of the Huguenot commander. Melendez was chosen to conduct an enterprize which was considered of equal importance to the interests of church and state. The French were Protestants, and they were supposed to be trespassers upon a territory to which, under the general name of Florida, the Spaniards asserted an exclusive title. He was invested with the swelling title of a Spanish Adelantado. The hereditary government of the Floridas was conferred upon him, and, at the call of the church, three thousand men volunteered to crowd his armament, which consisted of nearly twenty vessels. But, deserted by their earthly monarch, the Huguenots were for a time, indirectly, the care of heaven. The fleet of Melendez was met by storms, and his force lessened ere he reached the coasts of Florida, to one third of its original strength. But this disaster did not lessen the confidence of the Spaniard in his own fortune, and the bigotry of his mind gave a degree of enthusiasm to his resolve, which supplied the deficiencies of his armament. He rebuked the counsel of those who advised, in the shattered state of his vessels, and the diminished force of his crews, that, for the present, the expedition should be abandoned. "The Almighty" said he, "has thus re-



duced our strength that his own might more completely do the work."

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Sailing along the coast, he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river, to which he gave the name of St. Augustine, and where he subsequently founded the noble fortress of that place. Continuing his route northwardly, he discovered a portion of the fleet of Ribault. The French, as he approached, demanded his name and object. "I am Melendez of Spain," was the reply:—"I am sent with strict orders from my king, to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare,—every heretic shall die."



## CHAPTER IV.

The language of this reply, the uncompromising hate which it expressed, and the threat which it conveyed, struck terror to the hearts of the Huguenots. Feebler than their foes, and unprepared for battle, such as remained in the ships resolved upon flight. The approach of evening, while it prevented them from doing so in the first moment of their alarm, saved them also for the night from their enemies. But with the dawn of day they cut their cables, hoisted sail, and stood out to sea. They were closely pursued and fired upon all day, but escaped by superior sailing. Melendez returned to the harbor of St. Augustine, of which he took possession in the name of Philip II. whom he proclaimed monarch of all America, with the most solemn ceremonies of religion; and under the favoring auspices of partial success, the building of the town, the oldest in the United States, was begun.

While the Spaniards were thus employed, the colonists at Fort Caroline were neither idle nor apprehensive. Ribault resolved upon the most manly alternative. He resolved to anticipate the assaults of the enemy, and seek Melendez at sea. Crowding his main strength into his vessels, he left but a small garrison behind for the protection of his women and children, the sick of the expedition, and the stores. The garrison under Laudonniere, did not exceed eighty men, and not more than twenty of

these were effective. The heavy ships which had fled before Melendez, joined him, and the French commander proceeded south, with almost certain assurances of success. He found the fleet of Melendez without its complement of men, who were on shore, and moored in a situation that seemed to make its fate inevitable. Two hours would have sufficed for its destruction, and would have placed in the hands of Ribault sufficient means for the annihilation of his enemy ; but one of those sudden tempests, so common in those latitudes, suddenly arose, baffled his hopes, and drove his vessels down the gulf of Florida. The storm lasted from the first week in September to the beginning of the following month, and in that time the ships of Ribault were dashed to pieces against the rocks, full fifty leagues south of Fort Caroline. The men escaped only with their lives.

This disaster gave an entirely new aspect to the fortunes of Melendez. Without knowing the extent of Ribault's misfortune, he at least knew, from the violence and long continuance of the storm, that many days must elapse before Ribault could return to his colony ; and of this conviction he availed himself with that promptness and boldness which distinguished his character, and which had shone more worthily in the prosecution of any other labor. With a fanatical indifference to toil, he led five hundred picked troops, overland through the lakes, wastes and forests which divided St. Augustine from Fort Caroline, and was sheltered from sight in the forests which surround it, before Laudonniere had a suspicion of his having left St. Augustine. Cruel and dark, if not strange, was the superstition which seems to have clouded

the minds, and embittered the hearts of these stern adventurers. The massacre of the French as heretics, had been long before deliberately resolved upon. Solemnly, on bended knee in prayer to the Almighty, did they prepare themselves for this unhallowed sacrifice. From prayer they rushed to slaughter ; the feeble garrison was surprized, and dreadful was the carnage that ensued. The old, the sick, women and children, were alike massacred. The humanity of Melendez, after the havoc had raged for some time, tardily interposed to save such of the women, and the children under fifteen years, that still survived. But many of the garrison were preserved for a more terrible sacrifice. As if a distinct testimony were needed to show that this atrocious consummation of their crime was an act of faith, and a tribute to that gentle and benignant God who came only to propitiate and save—the living and the dying, after the fury of the fight was over, were hung together upon the boughs of a tree, and left to shrivel in the sun. An inscription upon a stone beneath, declared the motive of this meritorious deed. “We do this,” wrote the fanatic, “not to Frenchman, but to heretics.”

Nearly two hundred persons were massacred. A few, leaping from the parapet when all was lost, escaped into the woods ; among them were Laudonniere, Challus, and Le Moyne, a painter who had been sent out with the colony, with an especial regard to the exercise of his art. From these we gather the horrors of the scene, which was not yet finished. But whither should the fugitives turn ? Death was every where around them ; the forests had no refuge, the sea no hiding place. “Shall we sur-

render to the Spaniards, and appeal to their mercy?" became the question among them. "No!" said Challus,—  
"Let us trust in the mercy of God—we can not in these men."

Unfortunately, there were some who refused to adopt this resolution. They had hopes that the tiger rage of their conquerors was already sufficiently glutted by the blood which they had drunk. They gave themselves up, and shared the fate of their comrades. Those who followed the counsel of Challus, found their way to the sea side, and were received on board of two French vessels under the command of the son of Ribault, which had lingered in the harbor, and had dropped down the river beyond the reach of cannon, as soon as they discovered the fate of the fort. Mass was said when the carnage was over; and while the earth was yet smeared and soaking with the blood of men made in God's likeness, the site was chosen for a church to be dedicated to God.

The work thoroughly finished, the butcher led his soldiers back to St. Augustine in all haste, as he feared the possible retaliation of Ribault upon that post. Of the fate of this unfortunate commander he knew nothing. Cast upon the shore with a small supply of provisions, and only in part provided with the weapons of defence, the Frenchmen were almost abandoned to despair. A long stretch of swamp and forest, filled with enemies, heathen and christian, equally hostile and equally savage, lay between them and their place of hope and supposed refuge. It remained for them only to reach Fort Caroline, or surrender themselves to the doubtful mercies of the Spaniards. They resolved to go forward, and were divided



into two bodies for this purpose. It is probable that thus divided they pursued different routes, with the view to the more easy procuring of their food. One of these bodies, preceding the other, reached the banks of a small river twelve miles south of St. Augustine. Before they could procure the means of effecting the passage, they were encountered by Melendez at the head of forty soldiers. There, for the first time, he learned the fate of Ribault's fleet. The shipwrecked men were in a state of helpless weakness, half famished, subdued in spirit, wanting equally in food and water. Melendez invited them to rely on his compassion. His invitation was complied with. The French yielded by capitulation, and were brought across the river by small divisions, in a single boat. As the captives stepped upon the bank occupied by their enemies, their hands were tied behind them; a measure of precaution which probably did not alarm them, as they must have seen the smallness of the Spanish force. Two hundred were transported in this manner, and when brought together in the forests, at some distance from, and out of sight of their companions who were yet to cross, "at a line marked with his cane upon the sand," and at a signal from Melendez, they were set upon and butchered. Their carcasses were left unburied where they were slain.

A few days elapsed, when the remaining party, under Ribault himself, appeared at the same river, and were met, like the former, by the inveterate Spaniard. On this occasion, Melendez brought with him a more imposing force. A protracted negociation followed, and a large ransom was offered by the Frenchmen; but Melendez,



deliberately pacing the river bank, and permitting the negotiators to come and go at their pleasure, yet varied nothing from his first expressed resolution. He required them to surrender at discretion. He is even said to have set food and refreshments before them, while meditating a cruelty towards them like that which he had so inflexibly shown their comrades. Ribault, himself, crossed the river with several of his officers, without restraint, but without moving the stern decision of the Spaniard. He was respectfully received, conducted to the plain where the carcasses of the slaughtered party which preceded him lay bare to the elements, was informed of the manner of their fate, and of those left in Fort Caroline, and was still required to surrender at discretion.

It was in vain that these wretched men urged, that, as the two monarchs of their respective countries were not only at peace, but in alliance, they could not be treated as enemies. The answer was, "the catholic French are our friends and allies; but with heretics I wage a war of extermination. In this I serve both monarchs. I came to Florida to establish the catholic faith. If you are satisfied to yield yourselves to my mercy, I will do with you as God shall inspire me. If not, choose your own course; but do not hope from me either peace or friendship."

With this final answer Ribault returned to his comrades. It is somewhat surprising, that a commander who has been reputed so brave as himself, should have been content to parley with such a monster, after so bold an avowal of his resolves, and after the unstinted revelation which he had made of the treatment of his former captives. It is still more a matter of surprise, that he should at length

have delivered himself up, on any terms, to a wretch so bigoted and sanguinary. The exposure of the mangled corpses of his countrymen, slain as captives, and under an assurance of mercy, should have provoked in the surviving French, a resolution to incur any hazards, not merely in maintaining the possession of their arms, but in revenging their slaughtered brethren. But fatigue and starvation subdue in time the boldest natures, and nothing, surely, but the sheer exhaustion of spirit and frame, could have reconciled the unfortunate Ribault to the course which he subsequently adopted. Perhaps, indeed, he had some hope from the very audacity of Melendez. He fancied that the object of the Spaniard was to make the merit of his mercy the more—that he was already sated with blood,—and simply insisted upon the hard terms which he proposed, for the gratification of a tenacious pride, which nothing short of unqualified surrender could well satisfy.

Whatever may have been the reasonings of the French commander, he resolved to submit himself, with one hundred and fifty others, to his enemy; but the remainder of his men, two hundred in number, determined more wisely to brave every form of danger rather than yield to one who had shown himself so merciless. A melancholy separation of this forlorn band took place. Ribault led his division into the hands of Melendez, and being tied with ten others suffered with the rest. The two hundred who retained their arms, met with a milder fate. Returning to the wrecks of their vessels, they raised a temporary fortress for their defence, and proceeded to build a vessel to assist their escape. But their inhuman enemy was not willing to leave his work unfinished. He pursued them

to their place of partial refuge. From this they were driven, and flying to an elevated piece of ground, they prepared for the last conflict, resolved to sell their lives dearly if they could not repulse their foe. Their desperate demeanor and unyielding aspect, together with the advantage of their position, compelled Melendez to abate something of his inveteracy and hate. A negotiation was opened, and they received a solemn assurance of security and kind treatment—an assurance which, in this case, was followed by no breach of good faith. But no assurance, however solemn, from those who had been so faithless before, could satisfy the commander of this little party. His name is not given us, but his unbending resolution of character merits every encomium. He resolved rather to trust the forest thickets, with their troops of savage men and savage beasts, than such monsters as the Spaniards had shown themselves. With twenty followers, who felt like himself, he separated from his company, and disappeared from sight. The Spaniards hunted them in vain. They were never heard of more. Those who received the protection of Melendez, either established themselves in Florida, or found their way, at a remote period after, to their several homes.

The French writers assert, that Ribault was flayed alive, his body burnt, and his stuffed skin sent to Europe as a worthy trophy of the conqueror, and a fitting tribute to the Christian and throned barbarians who then ruled over half the world. The number of the victims is computed at nine hundred. The Spanish authorities diminish this number, but not the atrocity of the deed. Me-

lendez returned to Spain, impoverished but triumphant. He was well received by his sovereign, to whom his services had been of so grateful a character ; and his only human punishment, so far as the knowledge has been obtained, is the infamous notoriety which has followed the record of his deeds.



## CHAPTER V.

The tidings of these dreadful massacres, when they reached France, awakened every where, but at court, a burning sentiment of indignation. There, they carried an odor, such as was offered to the kingly nostrils by the bloody fumes of a like sacrifice, on the day of St. Bartholomew. The French government heard with apathy, if not with satisfaction, of an outrage which offended the moral sense of Christian Europe. It did not even offer a remonstrance on the destruction of a colony, which, if maintained, would have given to France an empire in the new continent, before England had yet founded a plantation. But the feeling of the court was not that of the nation. The people, Catholic no less than Protestant, burned with the sentiment for vengeance, which they were yet compelled to smother. This sentiment was at length embodied into form, and found utterance in the deeds of a gallant Gascon. The Chevalier Dominique de Gourgues—the very personification of intense heroism and a noble nature—rose up to redress his murdered countrymen and his insulted country. He was a Catholic, born at Mont Marsan, county of Cominges. His youth had been passed in warlike enterprises, and his reputation as a subaltern officer was not surpassed by any in France. His life had been a series of surprising adventures. He had passed from service to service and won reputation in



each. He became the captive of the Spaniards, while fighting against them in Italy; and his obstinate valor, which would have met with the admiration of a generous enemy, received but chains from his Spanish captors. He was consigned to the galleys, and was rescued from its oars only to fall into another form of bondage. The prize in which he rowed was taken by a Turkish corsair. Redeemed from Algerine slavery, he returned to his country in season to revenge its wrongs. His own treatment at the hands of his Spanish captors, may have helped to warm his indignation.

By the sale of his property, and the voluntary contributions of his friends, he found means for the equipment of a small fleet of three vessels. With a crew of one hundred and fifty men, he sailed from Bordeaux, on the 22nd of August, 1567, disguising his real purposes from the public, by the avowed intention of engaging in the slave trade on the coast of Africa.

Such was the nature of the commission under which he sailed; and the object which he afterwards pursued, seems to have remained entirely unsuspected. De Gourgues, however, had contrived to secure the services of one of the soldiers who had escaped with Laudonniere from Florida. When fairly at sea, he declared his true purpose to his soldiers. He painted, in glowing language, the wrongs of his countrymen—the brutality of the Spaniards—the cries of the thousand widows and orphans which they had made in France—their prayers unheeded—their injuries unredressed. His speech, which is preserved, is a fine specimen of manly eloquence and patriotism. It had the desired effect upon his men. With

one voice they adopted his resolution. They declared their wish to follow him and avenge the murder of their countrymen, and the dishonor done to France.

De Gourgues himself had but the one object. He did not seek to colonize; his force was too small for that. But it was sufficient, under his guidance, and moved by his spirit, for the purposes of destruction. Nor was his vengeance long delayed. The shores of Florida soon after rose in sight, and so entirely unsuspecting of danger were the Spaniards in possession of La Caroline, that they gave the fleet of De Gourgues a salute as it appeared. This salute he returned, the better to confirm them in their dangerous security; and passing on to the river, by the French called the Seine, he entered it and came to a landing with his men. Here he was soon discovered by a formidable body of the savages, headed by no less than eight of their principal chiefs. They recognized the French costume and language, and their delight was unmeasured. Before De Gourgues could declare his purpose, they denounced the Spaniards, as well for their murders of the French, as for their own repeated wrongs to themselves, and declared their desire to destroy them. So desirable an offer was at once accepted. They were provided with pikes, swords and daggers, and at once embodied with the French, though still under the command of their own warriors,—one of whom, named Olotocara, greatly distinguished himself in the assault upon the Spanish forts. These were three in number; that of La Caroline being strengthened by two similar structures immediately contiguous. De Gourgues made his approaches with the coolness of a veteran. He sent

forth spies, both French and Indian, and regulated his assault by their reports. The defences of the Spaniards were very complete, and but for the surprise which they experienced, and the terror which they felt at an exaggerated report which had reached them of the numbers of the French, the results might not have been so agreeable to the cause of justice.

The two small forts were carried by storm, and the men not slain in the assault, were carefully reserved for the final sacrifice, which De Gourgues meditated from the first. The avenues leading to La Caroline, were then occupied by the Indians, so that there remained no possibility of escape for the fugitives. This done, De Gourgues proceeded to a deliberate survey of all the difficulties of the enterprise. He soon discovered that it must be carried by escalade. It was defended by three hundred men under a valiant governor, had a large number of culverins and other cannon of various sizes, plentiful supplies of ammunition, and provision in abundance.

While the French—having retired to a wood for shelter from the Spanish cannon, which began to play upon them warmly from the moment when they came in sight—were preparing their ladders for the escalade, the governor of the fort precipitated his defeat. Under an excess of valor, he imprudently sallied forth with sixty of his men, and had advanced but a little distance, when he found himself suddenly surrounded by the French under De Gourgues and his lieutenant, Cazenove, who cut off his return, and slew his party to a man, on the spot where they were encountered. The besieged, who beheld this exploit, now left without a commander, were so terrified by the

event, that in their panic they fled from their defences and sought shelter in the neighboring thickets. But here they were met by the Indians under Olotocara, who drove them back upon the French. Death encountered them on all sides, and those who survived the conflict were reserved for a more especial and more cruel fate. They were conducted, with those taken at the smaller forts, to the trees on which Melendez had hung the Frenchmen under Ribault, and suspended to the same boughs. Taking down the inscription of Melendez, De Gorgues put another, much more appropriate, in its place. "I do this," said the writing,—which was impressed by a searing iron upon a pine plank,—"I do this, not to Spaniards, nor infidels; but to traitors, thieves and murderers."

The victor had sternly carried out his resolution of vengeance. He had proved himself as inflexibly just as he was merciless, since the victims had been the offenders, or had so far approved and participated in the crime for which they were punished, as to leave us little occasion for rebuke or regret. It is, perhaps, only by a terrible retribution like this, that guilt is taught to pause in the career of crime, to doubt its own security, and forbear the deed of blood which may waken up such an avenger.

Having set forth on this single purpose, its completion left the generous Gascon little more to do. He had no selfish objects of conquest or colonization. The stern and undivided desire of his mind was satisfied; and, razing to its foundation the fort which had been the theatre of such a sanguinary story, he returned to France to receive, not the honors and rewards of its monarch,



but persecution and exile. The court of France refused its countenance to his deeds ; and, pursued by the malignant hostility of Spain, he found a home in Portugal, where he was invited into honorable, and, to him, grateful service, in the wars then waging by that country against the Spaniards ; but he died of wounded pride, and a painful sense of the ill treatment of his sovereign, ere he entered upon foreign service. His memory can not be forgotten, and his adventures might well become a story of their own.

## CHAPTER VI.

Thus ended the ill fated expeditions of the French to Carolina, and the initial attempt of Coligny to provide, in the wildernesses of the new world, a refuge from the tyrannies and persecutions of the old. France not only disowned the expedition of De Gourgues, but relinquished all pretensions to Florida. Spain and Britain preserved their claims upon the territory, but the former alone maintained her possession of it. But the massacres which De Gourgues had avenged, aroused in Protestant England a feeling of indignation, like that which it had awakened in Catholic France. Her eye was drawn to a region, of which tales equally bloody and attractive had been told.

Walter Raleigh, then fighting the battles of the Huguenots under the banners of Coligny, listened with a keen ear to the strange narratives which, on every hand, he heard of the wild and picturesque regions of Florida. From the ideas and feelings thus awakened in his mind, we may trace that passion for adventure in the new world, which led him to the shores of North Carolina. He obtained a patent in March, 1584, for such lands as he should discover, not in possession of any Christian prince or people, and sent out two ships the month following. They reached the shores of the western continent, which saluted them with a fragrance which was "as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all

kinds of odoriferous flowers." They ranged the coast for one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbor, entered the first haven which offered, and landing on the island of Wokoken, the southernmost of the islands forming the Ocracocke inlet, took solemn possession of the country in the name of the Virgin Queen. The crews were landed on the 4th day of July ; a day that has since been made to distinguish a moral epoch in America. A colony was established, and the new continent, for the first time, received the English name of North and South Virginia. All lands lying towards the St. Lawrence, from the northern boundary of the Virginia province, belonged to the northern, and all thence to the southward, as far as the gulf of Florida, to the southern district.

The colony of Raleigh failed after a painful but short existence of a few years. The settlers disappeared, and no traces of their flight was found, and no knowledge of their fate has ever become known to the historians. They probably sank under the united assaults of famine and their Indian neighbors.

English discovery now became continuous along the coasts of the continent. The shores, bays, headlands and harbors of New England, were successively discovered, and in 1607, under the genius of the celebrated John Smith, the first permanent colony of England, in America, was planted at James River.

In 1620 a settlement was effected in New England ; and ten years after, a grant was made to Sir Robert Heath, attorney general of Charles I., of all that region which stretches southward of the Virginia coast, from the 36th degree of north latitude, comprehending the Louisiana

territory on the Mississippi, by the name of Carolana. It is said that Sir Robert conveyed his right to the earl of Arundel; that this earl planted several parts of the country, and afterwards conveyed his title to Dr. Cox, who was at great pains to establish his pretensions, explored a part of the country, and subsequently memorialized the crown on the subject of his claims. Heath's charter was, however, declared void, because of the failure of the grantees to comply with certain of its conditions; and for thirty years after, the territories of Carolina remained unsettled.

At length, in 1663, Edward, earl of Clarendon, and several associates, formed a project for planting a colony there. They obtained from Charles II., a charter conveying all the lands lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude. The charter states that the applicants, "excited by a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, beg a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by a barbarous people, having no knowledge of God." This was the pious pretence of the time, which seems, as a matter of course, to have furnished the burden of every such prayer. It may be said in this place, that the efforts were but few and feebly sustained, to promote the professed objects of the memorial. The chartists, beside the earl of Clarendon, were George, duke of Albemarle; William, lord Craven; John, lord Berkley; Antony, lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colleton. The grant which they obtained, comprised a territory of which, subsequently, the several states of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia



were composed. Two years after this grant, it was enlarged by a second, making its boundaries from  $29^{\circ}$  of north latitude, to  $36^{\circ} 40''$ , and from these points on the sea coast westward in parallel lines to the Pacific Ocean. Of this immense region the king constituted them absolute lords and proprietors, reserving to himself, his heirs, and successors, the simple sovereignty of the country. He invested them with all the rights, jurisdiction, royalties, privileges and liberties within the bounds of their province, to hold, use, and enjoy the same, in as ample a manner as the Bishop of Durham did in that county-palatine in England. The Bahama islands were subsequently included in the gift of the monarch.

Agreeably to these powers, the proprietors proceeded to frame a system of laws for the colony which they projected. Locke, the well known philosopher, was summoned to this work, and the largest expectations were entertained in consequence of his co-operation.

The code of laws called the "Fundamental Constitution," which was devised, and which subsequently became unpopular in the colony, is not certainly the work of his hands. It is ascribed by Oldmixon, a contemporary, to the earl of Shaftesbury, one of the proprietors. The most striking feature in this code, provided for the creation of a nobility, consisting of landgraves, cassiques, and barons. These were to be graduated by the landed estates which were granted with the dignity; the eldest of the proprietary lords was to be the superior, with the title of Palatine, and the people were to be serfs. Their tenants, and the issue of their tenants, were to be transferred with the soil, and not at liberty to leave it,

but with the lord's permission, under hand and seal. The whole system was rejected after a few years experiment. It has been harshly judged as the production of a sciolous intellect ; but, contemplating the institution of domestic slavery, as the proprietors had done from the beginning, something may be said in favor of the project. Its failure was rather a failure of the proprietary scheme of settlement, than of any intrinsic defect in the plan for its government. The code contemplated a few wealthy noblemen, and a large body of serviles. But the settlers were generally poor, and the nobility created for the occasion, and from the people, was deficient in all those marks of hereditary importance, which, in the minds of men, are found needful to disguise, if not to justify, the inequalities of fortune. The great destitution of the first settlers, left them generally without the means of procuring slaves ; and the equal necessities to which all are subject who peril life and fortune in a savage forest and a foreign shore, soon made the titular distinctions of the few a miserable mockery, or something worse.

Having devised their plan of government, the proprietors began to advertise for settlers, though nothing seems to have been seriously done towards emigration, till some time after. A colony was formed upon the river Albemarle, and another at Cape Fear ; the last of these two were conducted from Barbadoes, by John Yeamans, and many of these colonists afterwards found their way to the settlements on Ashley river.

In 1667, an exploring ship was fitted out, and the command given to William Sayle, who was simply commissioned to survey and give some account of the

coast. In his passage he was driven by a storm among the Bahamas, of which he acquired some useful knowledge. By his representations of their value to Carolina, as places of retreat or defence against the Spaniards, the proprietors obtained an additional grant of them from the king. He sailed along the coast of Carolina, observed several navigable rivers, and a flat country covered with woods. He attempted to go ashore in his boat, but was discouraged by the hostile appearance of the savages on the banks. His report on his return to England, was so favorable as to prompt the energetic action of the proprietors. Two ships were put under his command; a number of adventurers were embarked, and, well provided with utensils for building and cultivation, together with arms and munitions of war, the little armament sailed in January, 1670. Twelve thousand pounds was the liberal sum expended on this venture.

The fame of Port Royal, of which, the name conferred by Ribault remained in use among the English, was remembered at this time; and to this river Sayle directed his course. He safely reached his port, and proceeded with all due diligence to establish himself. The foundations of a town and government were laid at the same time. A parliament was composed, and invested with legislative power. Already were the laws of Shaftesbury and Locke departed from; and, deeming it impracticable at the very outset to execute the model which had been given them, they determined to follow it as closely as they could. As an encouragement to settle at Port Royal, one hundred and fifty acres of land were given, at an easy quit-rent, to every emigrant, and clothes and provisions

bestowed upon all who could not provide for themselves. The neighboring Indians were conciliated by presents, and pledges of friendship freely exchanged with their cassiques and warriors. Here Sayle died in the midst of his labors, having fallen a victim to the climate. This event led to the extension of the command of Sir John Yeamans, who had hitherto ruled the plantation about Cape Fear, over that of Sayle ; and, gathering the planters together, "from Clarendon on the north, from Port Royal on the south," he resorted, "for the convenience of pasturage and tillage," to the banks of Ashley river. This removal took place in 1671, and in the same year, "on the first highland," was laid the foundations of that settlement which we now distinguish as old Charlestown. For some years this became and continued the capital of the southern settlements ; but as the commerce of the colony increased, the disadvantages of the position were discovered. It could not be approached by large vessels at low water. In 1680, by a formal command of the proprietors, a second removal took place ; and the seat of government was transferred to a neck of land called Oyster Point, admirably conceived for the purposes of commerce, at the confluence of two spacious and deep rivers, which, in compliment to lord Shaftesbury, had already been called after him, Ashley and Cooper. Here the foundation was laid of the present city of Charleston. In that year thirty houses were built, though this number could have met the wants of but a small portion of the colony. The heads of families at the Port Royal settlement alone, whose names are preserved to us, are forty-eight in number ; those brought from Clarendon by Yea-



mans, could not have been less numerous ; and the additions which they must have had from the mother country, during the nine years of their stay at the Ashley river settlement, were likely to have been very considerable.

Roundheads and cavaliers alike sought refuge in Carolina, which, for a long time, remained a pet province of the proprietors. Liberty of conscience, which the charter professed to guaranty, encouraged emigration. The hopes of avarice, the rigor of creditors, the fear of punishment and persecution, were equal incentives to the settlement of this favored but foreign region. Groups of settlers, following favorite leaders—the victims of some great calamity, or the enthusiastic, under some general impulse—were no less frequent than individual emigrants.

In 1674, when Nova Belgia, now New York, was conquered by the English, a number of the Dutch from that place, sought refuge in Carolina. The proprietors facilitated their desire, and provided the ships which conveyed them to Charlestown. They were assigned lands on the southwest side of Ashley river, drew lots for their property, and founded a town which they called Jamestown, but which they afterwards deserted, and spread themselves throughout the country, where they were joined by greater numbers from ancient Belgia.

Two vessels filled with foreign, perhaps French, protestants, were transported to Carolina, at the expense of Charles II., in 1679 ; and the revocation of the edict of Nantz, a few years afterwards, by which the Huguenots were deprived of the only securities of life, liberty, and fortune, which their previous struggles had left them, contributed still more largely to the infant settlement, and

provided Carolina with some of the noblest portions of her growing population. The territory which had been soaked with the blood of their countrymen, under Ribault and Laudonniere, was endeared to them, probably, on that very account; and they naturally turned their prowess to a region which so great a sacrifice had so eminently hallowed to the purposes of their liberty and worship.

In 1696, a colony of congregationalists, from Dorchester in Massachusetts, ascended the Ashley river nearly to its head, and there founded a town, to which they gave the name of that which they had left. Dorchester became a town of some importance, having a moderately large population, and considerable trade. It is now deserted; the habitations and inhabitants have alike vanished; but the reverend spire, rising through the forest trees which surround it, still attest the place of their worship, and where so many of them yet repose.

Various other countries and causes contributed to the growth and population of the new settlement. After the restoration, the profligacy of English morals led to constant commotions between the two still great parties of cavaliers and puritans. The former sought to revenge themselves for the hardships which they had suffered during the protectorate. Having obtained the ascendancy, they retaliated by every means which the partiality of the law, or the evil temper of the court towards the puritans, would allow. The latter were uniformly encountered with contempt, and commonly with injustice, and ardently wished for some distant retreat to which they might fly and be secure.

To prevent open strife between these parties, Charles encouraged emigration. Grants of land in Carolina were the lures by which the turbulent were beguiled from home ; and hundreds of dissenters, with their families, embracing the proffer, transported themselves to the infant colony. At a later period, the wild, roystering cavaliers, who could not be provided from an exhausted treasury in England, received grants ; and the spectacle was no less strange than grateful, to behold those parties mingling peacefully in Carolina, who had seldom met but in deadly hostility at home.

Emigrants followed, though slowly, from Switzerland, Germany, and Holland ; and the Santee, the Congaree, the Wateree, and Edisto, now listened to the strange voices of several nations, who, in the old world, had scarcely known each other except as foes. These for a while mingled harmoniously with the natives ;—the French Huguenots and the German Palatine, smoked their pipes in amity with the Westo and the Serattee ; and the tastes and habits of the Seine and the Rhine, became familiar to the wondering eyes of the fearless warriors along the Congaree. It was not long before a French violinist had opened a school for dancing, among the Indians on the Santee river.

## CHAPTER VII.

The settlers of Carolina, thus accumulated from so many, and sometimes hostile European nations, entered upon their new enterprise with industry and spirit. They seem to have been of a singularly elastic and cheerful temper of mind. They could never else have withstood and triumphed over the oppressive influences of the climate, and the constant strifes of near and numerous savages. Though comparatively strong in numbers, by the frequent accession of emigrants already shewn, they were yet feeble in many of those elements of national strength, in which the best securities of a people are to be found. A common necessity had brought them together; but when the pressure of external dangers was withdrawn, it was not found so easy for them to harmonize. They were apt to fall apart, revive old dislikes—the result of their several European prejudices—and, if they did not join in actual hostility, to pursue differing objects and interests, which had all the effect of open strife upon the welfare of a small colony.

Many of them were dependents upon the bounty of others; most of them were poor; and all of them were so placed—an isolated community in a savage land—as to need, for a time at least, the continual and fostering providence of foreign patronage. This necessity, of itself, led to new weaknesses and much humiliation, from which they were only relieved by the withdrawal of the reluctant



bounty upon which they had been too willing to depend. This unmanly disposition received its first and becoming rebuke from the proprietors, in a letter which announced to them their resolution to bestow no more "stock and charges upon the idle." "We will not," were the words of this epistle, "continue to feed and clothe you without expectation or demand of any return."

Thus forced upon their own resources, the Carolinians received that first lesson of independence which, perhaps, has done much towards giving them that high rank among their countrymen of the sister states, which cannot be denied them. A sense of mortified pride co-operated with their necessities to make them address themselves with earnestness to their labors. They proceeded to fell the forests and clear their fields, with a hearty resolution, which, while it amply atoned for past remissness, as sufficiently guaranteed the realization of every future good.

New settlers, in all countries, are subjected to many hardships; but those of Carolina seem to have equalled, if they did not surpass, every thing of the kind to which men in any age have ever been subjected. To subdue the forest to the necessities of civilized man; to build habitations, and clear the ground for raising provisions, while it is always the first, would seem also to be the sufficient employment of the emigrant. In a low, flat country, and under a climate so sultry as that of Carolina, the burden of such labors must have been greatly increased. The Europeans soon sank under the fatigues of laboring in the open air; and those diseases which are peculiar to level countries, overflowed with water, and subject to the action of a constant burning sun, soon made

their appearance among them, to diminish their strength, enfeeble their spirits, and lessen their numbers. To enhance the evils of such a condition, they were surrounded by Indian enemies, who were eminently irritable and warlike, and daily became more jealous of the encroachments of their white neighbors.

Carolina is said to have been occupied, at its first settlement, by no less than twenty-eight Indian nations. Their settlements extended from the ocean to the mountains. The Westos, Stonos, Coosaws, and Sewees, occupied the country between Charleston and the Edisto river. They were conquered by the Savannahs and expelled from the country. The Yemassees and Huspahs held the territory in the neighborhood of Port Royal. The Savannahs, Serannahs, Cussobos, and Euchees, occupied the middle country, along the Isundiga, or Savannah river. The Apalachians inhabited the head waters of the Savannah and Altamaha, and gave their name to the mountains of Apalachy, and the bay of Apalachicola. The Muscoghees, or Creeks, occupied the south side of Savannah and Broad rivers—the latter being, at that time, called the Cherokee—and by this river they were divided from the Cherokees, a formidable nation, which dwelt upon the territory now included in the districts of Pickens, Anderson, and Greenville. The Congarees, Santees, Waterees, Saludahs, Catawbas, Pedees, and Winyaws, lived along the rivers which bear their names. The Chickasaws and Choctaws dwelt, or roved, westward from the borders of Carolina, to the banks of the Mississippi. To speak in more correct language, the greater numbers of these people constituted tribes,

rather than nations, and belonged to a few mighty families which dwelt permanently in the interior. They were tributaries of one or other of the several nations of Muscoghees, Cherokees, Catawbas, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, among which the territory of the Carolinas was divided, and perhaps frequently disputed. These Indians, united, could probably bring fifty thousand men into the field. The Muscoghees and Catawbas were the most warlike; the Cherokees were as numerous as either, but not esteemed so brave. The Choctaws and Chickasaws seem to have been less stationary than these tribes, and most probably resembled those roving bands of the west, who drew their stakes and changed their habitations with the progress of the seasons.

To the infant colony of Carolina, these nations, or the tributary tribes which owned their sway, suggested constant alarm and danger. The Westo and Stono tribes, as they were most contiguous, seem to have been the most troublesome. Their assaults were doubly dangerous and annoying, as it was found so difficult to provide against them. The superiority of the musket over the bow and arrow was very small. Concealed in the thicket in which he has almost grown a part and is a native, the Indian launches his shaft ere the European has dreamed of the presence of an enemy. Its leaves hide him from the aim, and its mighty trees effectually shield him from the bullet which the angry stranger sends in reply. He ranges the woods in safety while the invader sleeps; and the swamps, in the atmosphere of which European life stagnates and perishes, yield a congenial element to him. Thus circumstanced in con-

nection with their Indian neighbors, the Carolinians were compelled to stand in a continual posture of defence. While one party slept, an equal number watched. He who felled the tree of the forest, was protected by another who stood ready with his musket in the shade ; and so persevering were these stealthy enemies, that the settler dared not discard his weapon, even while gathering the oyster on the shores of the sea. From the woods they were almost wholly exiled, by reason of the swarms of foes which infested them ; and, but for the fish from the rivers, they must have perished of famine. Their scanty crops were raised, not only by the sweat of their brows, but at the peril of their lives ; and when raised, were exposed to the plundering assaults of the foe. A single night frequently lost to the planter the dearly bought products of a year of toil.

It is no easy matter to describe the dreadful extremities to which the Carolinians were at last reduced ; and a civil disturbance was the consequence, which threatened the ruin of the colony. Robbed of the slender stock of grain which their fields had produced, and failing to receive supplies from Europe, they were ready for any measure to which the phrensy of despair might prompt them.

Where a people are discontented, there will not be long wanting some unruly spirit to take advantage of their sufferings, and stimulate their sedition ; and one Florence O'Sullivan, to whom the island at the entrance of the harbor which now bears his name had been entrusted for defence, deserting his post, joined the discontents of the town ; and the popular fury might have expended



itself in violence and bloodshed, but for the prudence and firmness of Sir John Yeamans, the governor.

O'Sullivan was arrested on charges of sedition, and the people were quieted, while vessels were despatched for supplies to Barbadoes and Virginia. A timely arrival from England, bringing provisions and a number of new settlers, revived the spirits of the people, and cheered them to renewed efforts. Yeamans, sensible of their hardships, readily forgave their commotions; but Culpepper, the surveyor-general, who had stimulated their excesses—a man afterwards prominent in an insurrection in North Carolina—was sent to England to be tried for treasonable conspiracies against the settlement.

While these events were in progress, a new enemy started up to add to the many dangers and annoyances of the Carolinians. The Spaniards at St. Augustine had long regarded the settlement of the English at Ashley river, as an encroachment upon the dominions of their monarch. Perhaps they remembered the ancient conflicts between Ribault, Laudonniere, and Melendez, for supremacy in the same neighborhood; and, as if the massacres which they had caused and suffered, had confirmed the right to the soil which they founded upon the discoveries of De Leon and De Soto, they watched the colony of the English with a keen disquiet, proportioned to their hostility. Having obtained a knowledge of the miserable condition of the Carolinians, and the disaffection which prevailed among them, they advanced with a well armed party to dislodge and destroy the settlers. They reached Saint Helena, where they were joined by one Brian Fitzpatrick, a worthless traitor, who had deserted the colony in the

moment of its greatest distress, and who now exposed its weaknesses to the invaders. The Spaniards continued to advance under his guidance ; but, in the meantime, the vessel bringing supplies of men and munitions of war, fortunately arrived in Ashley river.

This reinforcement enabled the governor to assume the offensive. He despatched fifty volunteers, under colonel Godfrey, to meet the invaders ; but the Spaniards did not await his attack. They fled at his approach, evacuating St. Helena island, of which they had full possession, and retreated with all haste to Augustine. This attempt of the Spaniards, though conducted with little spirit, and distinguished by no combat, was the prelude to a long succession of conflicts between the two colonies, resulting in mutual invasion, and unprofitable and unnecessary loss of blood and treasure.

To conciliate the Indian tribes, and escape from that harrassing and constant warfare which they had waged upon the colony from the beginning, was now the chief object of governor Yeamans. But one circumstance, at this time, contributed more than any thing beside to the peace of the settlement. The Westos, who had always harbored the most unconquerable aversion to the whites, and who were doubly dangerous from their near neighborhood, were suddenly invaded by the Serannas, a powerful tribe living on the Isundiga river. A war followed between them, which was waged with so fatal a fury, as to end in the almost complete annihilation of both. The Carolinians, without doubt, as a matter of policy, encouraged the hostile fury of the combatants ; at all events, they found security from its continuance, and were finally rid of two fierce neighbors when it ended.

About the year 1674, Sir John Yeamans left the colony and went to Barbadoes, where he died. By one historian, his labors for the success of the settlement are spoken of as indefatigable. By another, he is described as insolent, unjust, and tyrannical. He was succeeded by Joseph West, as governor, and under his rule the freemen of the colony were called together at Charlestown for the purpose of making laws for their government. The upper and lower house of assembly was formed, and with the governor as its head, took the name of parliament, agreeable to the fundamental constitutions. This was the first parliament in the colony that passed acts of which the proprietors approved, and which are on record in the colony. It might have been expected that this parliament, composed of men embarked in the same vessel, and having a common interest, would be particularly zealous to maintain harmony and a friendly understanding among themselves. They had the same interests to promote and the same enemies to fear. Unhappily such was not the case. The most numerous party in the country, were dissenters of various denominations from the established church of England. Affecting always a superior sanctity, these people have been seldom found the most docile and subordinate members of the community. A large share of self-esteem distinguished their intellectual organization, and occasioned constant discontents with the existing authorities, and a restless impatience of control. The cavaliers, who had also received grants in Carolina, were regarded by the proprietors, who were chiefly noblemen, with a more favoring eye. Though lively, impetuous, and given to

excesses of various kinds, a taste for which had been engendered by the civil wars in the time of the first Charles and the Protectorate, they were yet regarded as men of loyalty, honor and fidelity. The puritans, who remembered them only as deadly enemies in England, were vexed to see them lifted into places of honor in Carolina. The odious terms and ungracious epithets of the old world, were soon revived in the new, among both parties; and, but for the prudence of governor West, who in the business of legislation studiously discouraged every discussion of religious subjects, the bitter fruits of such dislikes and differences would have been renewed in a region, to the government of which the utmost tolerance had been decreed by the proprietors, from the beginning of their enterprize.

The differing manners and habits of the colonists, furnished another cause for the absence of harmony among them. The puritans were a sober, inflexible, morose people; hostile to amusements, without carefully discriminating between them—rigid in form—resolute to make no concessions, and tenacious to the last degree of those leveling opinions, which were held in particular dislike by the cavaliers. They denounced the vices and debaucheries of the latter, censured their freedom of deportment, their ill-timed levities; and, exasperated by their licentiousness and unconcealed scorn of themselves, labored with equal industry and malevolence to keep them out of power, and abridge their influence and authority.

The cavaliers were not less active in their hostility, nor less careful to display their dislike. They ridiculed the puritans with a wit as reckless as it was unsparing,



and employed all their influence in exposing them to public derision and contempt. Their contentious dispositions and leveling notions, were denounced as deserving of the abhorrence of all men of honor—as having served to produce in England that race of sly, deceitful, and hypocritical wretches, which had been the scourge of the nation. This war increased the animosity of both parties daily, and though the governor endeavored to arrest its progress and subdue its virulence, the pernicious effects were soon perceptible in the difficulty that arose in framing laws, distributing justice, and maintaining public tranquillity. His council being composed entirely of cavaliers, was a check upon his own ability. In spite of his authority, the puritans were treated with neglect and injustice; and the colony, distracted with domestic evils, not only failed to make that progress in fortune which its natural advantages promised, but became ill prepared to protect itself against those enemies which threatened it from without.

The Stonos, at this unfavorable juncture, appeared along the settlements, and in detached bodies assailed the plantations, from which they carried the grain as soon as it ripened. The savages every where have deemed it the less laborious policy to rob the civilized, than to encounter the labor and risk of planting for themselves. The stock of the Carolinians shared the fate of their grain crops, and the apprehensions of famine from which they suffered in the time of Yeamans, were renewed under the government of West. That gentleman, however, employed a new branch of policy in revenging and repairing the sufferings of his people. The planters were armed

in defence of their possessions, and in the war that ensued, which was waged by the Stonos with singular hate and perseverance, it was found necessary to fix a price upon every Indian brought in as a captive. The savages thus taken, were shipped to the West Indies and sold as slaves. This mode of getting rid of cruel and treacherous enemies, however justified by ancient practice, has been deemed more barbarous than taking their lives. On this head, there will be a difference of opinion so long as the standards of humanity vary in various climates.

The planters of that day, did not even see the necessity of vindicating themselves against such a charge, and their descendants seem to have grown up in the same faith. Without discussing the propriety of this course of conduct, it may be enough to say, that it was attended with the desired results. The Stonos were defeated after a long and obstinate conflict. Their name alone remains to distinguish the site of their former habitations.

## CHAPTER VIII.

A parliament was held in Charlestown at the close of 1682, when laws were enacted for establishing a militia system; for making high roads through the forest; for repressing drunkenness and profanity; and for otherwise promoting a proper morality among the people. In the year following, governor West was removed from office, and Joseph Moreton, who had just before been created a landgrave of Carolina, succeeded to his place. West had displeased the proprietaries, by introducing the traffic in Indians—a traffic which, because of its profitable results, seemed likely to be perpetuated among the planters;—and by curbing the excesses of the cavaliers, who formed the proprietary party, in opposition to the less loyal, or more turbulent members of the puritan faction. With his removal commenced a course of rapid changes in the government of the colony. Two parties arose, the general direction of whose principles undoubtedly came from the social and religious bias which they had each received from their conflicting relations in England. One of these endeavoured to maintain the prerogative and authority of the proprietaries; the other contended for the rights and liberties of the people. The cavaliers, or court party, insisted upon implicit obedience to the laws received from England; the puritans contended, and with perfect justice, for the right to adapt their laws to the existing circumstances of their condition. In this

state of things, no set of officers could maintain their places long. In the short space of four years, from 1682 to 1686, there were no less than five governors: Moreton succeeding West; West again displacing Moreton; and being followed in turn by Sir Richard Kyrle, Robert Quarry, and James Colleton.

Moreton assembled a parliament, which established a variety of regulations, some of which were displeasing to the proprietaries. It enacted a law for raising the value of foreign coins, by which the currency of Carolina was first regulated; and suspended all prosecutions for foreign debts; a measure which was negatived by the proprietaries, whose own interests might have suffered from such an enactment; and which they declared contrary to the king's honor, as obstructing the proper course of justice.

Another cause of dispute between the proprietors and the people, arose from the manner in which the parliament was constituted. The province, at this time, was divided into the three counties of Berkeley, Craven, and Colleton. Berkeley filled the space around the the capital; Craven (including the district lately called Clarendon) lay to the northward; and Colleton contained Port Royal and the islands in its vicinity, to the distance of thirty miles. Of the twenty members, of whom the parliament was to be composed, the proprietaries desired that ten should be elected by each of the counties of Berkeley and Colleton. Craven was deemed too inconsiderable to merit any representation.— Berkeley, which contained the metropolis, was the only county which, as yet, possessed a county court; and the



provincial government having appointed the election to be held at Charlestown, the inhabitants, by reason of their greater numbers, succeeded in excluding Colleton from all representation, and in returning the whole twenty members. This enraged the proprietors, who dissolved the parliament; but without effecting any present remedy against the injustice of numbers. Governor Moreton, harrassed by the strifes among the people, resigned his office. His authority was conferred on West, whose policy, favoring the traffic in Indians, rendered him a very popular person among the colonists. Sir Richard Kyrle, an Irishman, was then entrusted with the government, by the proprietaries; but he died soon after his arrival in the province. West, thereupon, was again chosen, but was soon superseded by Colonel Quarry, who kept the capricious station but a year. He was found, or suspected, to have afforded some countenance to piracy; was removed in consequence, and the landgrave Moreton once more reinstated in the government.

In the offence imputed to Quarry, the community had its share. Indeed, it was one of the excesses of the time, a seeming sanction for which was to be found in particular circumstances. Pirates were licensed by Great Britain, to cruise against the Spanish fleets in the American waters; there being, in the phrase of the day, 'no peace beyond the line.' The king of England had even conferred the honors of knighthood upon one of the worst villains of the class. The enormities committed by the Spaniards in all quarters of the new world, and upon all people, Christian and savage, seemed, in the eyes of other nations, to justify a corresponding treatment

of themselves in turn. But the pirates did not confine themselves to Spanish vessels ; else it is probable that that they might still have pursued their excesses with impunity in the waters of Carolina. There, the ports were freely opened to them, provisions supplied, and they were received as the favored guests of the planters. The hostility entertained by these reckless rovers against the Spaniards, the mortal foes of the Carolinians, was, perhaps, the true reason of the countenance which they found among the latter. It suggests the only reason which may serve, in some respect, to justify the colonists for the favor which they showed them. The governor, the proprietary deputies, and the principal inhabitants, are said to have equally stained themselves with this unbecoming intercourse ; and the obloquy which they thus incurred, was only obliterated in the manly warfare in which they subsequently drove them from their waters. Their feebleness may have made them sanction the presence of those whom they did not dare to offend ; and the fact that the pirates chiefly warred against their inveterate enemies, the Spaniards, constituted them, in one respect, worthy allies, whom it was their policy to encourage.

It is certain, in support of this view of the subject, that the Spaniards themselves regarded in this light, the countenance which the Carolinians showed the pirates. They beheld the enemies who had infested their shores, and destroyed their shipping, sheltered and received as friends in Ashley river ; and if no such policy influenced the Carolinians, they were at least required to atone, as allies, for the excesses of those whom they received with the kindness due to allies only.

Other circumstances contributed to this conviction, and strengthened the hostility of the people of Augustine. They had always beheld the settlements of the English with jealousy, and the establishment of a new colony, under lord Cardross, a Scotch nobleman, at Port Royal, served to renew the ancient grudge, and furnished a new provocation to hostility. They invaded the southern frontiers of the colony, and descended suddenly upon the Scotch at Port Royal, whom they expelled. Laying the settlements waste as they went, they as suddenly retired, ere men could be mustered to encounter them, or resent the inroad. The spirit of the Carolinians, whom continued wars had made a martial people, was at once aroused by this aggression, and they resolved, with one mind, to carry their arms into the enemy's territory. An expedition was determined upon, and preparations begun for an invasion of Florida. But the proprietaries hastened to arrest this purpose. They succeeded for the time; but the angry feelings which were brought into activity on this occasion, were never suffered entirely to sleep; and they found their utterance but a few seasons after this event, when, under the government of a man fond of warlike enterprizes, the colonists prepared to "feed fat the ancient grudge" which they bore against their hereditary foes.

James Colleton, a landgrave of Carolina, and brother of one of the lords proprietors, succeeded to Moreton. For a time his administration gave universal satisfaction; but an endeavor to carry out his instructions, renewed the old conflicts between the people and their lords, in all their original virulence and vigor. The progress of

discontent in the colony soon assumed a mutinous aspect, and the first leading measure of the new governor, resulted in the utter forfeiture of his power. He endeavored to make the people pay up their quit-rents, which had been suffered to accumulate, without liquidation, for several years. The amount was trifling; but other feelings than those of interest, mingled in with the consideration of the subject. It was the display of authority, at a time when that authority was already under censure for trespasses upon the public liberties; and, taught in the severe school of self-succour and self-providence, from the beginning, the great body of the Carolinians were disposed to resistance. This spirit became more turbulent with every show of rigor on the part of the indiscreet landgrave; riots and commotions succeeded; the parliament was assembled, and in 1690, the contest brought to an issue, which resulted in the partial triumph of the people, the formal deposition of the governor, and his solemn banishment beyond the limits of the province.

The government was then usurped by one Seth Sothel, a factious person, who had been driven from the Albemarle settlement. Availing himself of the general hostility to Colleton, he found but little difficulty in securing the favor of the Carolinians in the first moments of their anger. He claimed the government in the double right of a proprietor himself, and a champion of the popular liberties. But his pretences were soon set aside, and the excessive tyranny of his mis-rule effectually rebuked and punished the folly of those who so readily yielded to his arguments. He is said to have trampled under



foot every restraint of equity and the laws ; to have been as much without moderation as justice ; and to have ruled the colonists with a rod of iron, far more heavy than that of Colleton. His whole course was one of rapine, and his coffers were filled by every species of plunder and exaction. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda, were seized by his orders, under pretended charges of piracy, and either incurred a forfeiture of their goods, or were compelled to purchase their ransom from prison by enormous fines. Felons bought themselves free from justice by heavy bribes, and the property of individuals was seized and confiscated on the most frivolous pretences. Fortunately, the career of Sothel was short. Proprietaries and people alike joined in his expulsion ; and, pursued by the laws which he had offended, and the hate which he had provoked, he soon followed Colleton into banishment.

Philip Ludwell was now sent out by the proprietaries, to fill the vacated chair of the governor. He was accompanied by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been governor of the leeward islands, and who, having determined to retire to Carolina, was appointed a cassique of the province, and a member of council. Ludwell, who was a man of sense and humanity, commenced his administration in a manner that appeared to promise well for its continuance ; but this promising appearance was of short duration. There was a continual warfare going on between the supposed interests of the proprietors and people ; and the measures of any governor or council, supposed to be favorably inclined to the one, were sure to give offence to, and excite the jealous opposition of the

other party. Ludwell had been instructed by the proprietaries to admit the French Huguenots, settled in Craven county, to the same political privileges with the English colonists. Unhappily, these elder colonists were far from regarding their new associates with good will or friendly feeling. The number of the strangers, and the wealth which was possessed by some among them, excited their personal jealousies, and these soon awakened all the ancient antipathies of the nation. When Ludwell proposed to admit the refugees to a participation in the privileges of the other planters, the English refused to acquiesce. They insisted that it was contrary to the laws of England; that no power but that of the British parliament could dispense with the legal disability of aliens to purchase lands within the empire, incorporate them into the British community, or make them partakers of the rights of native-born Englishmen.— They even maintained that the marriages of the refugees, performed by their own clergymen, were unlawful, as not being celebrated by men who had obtained Episcopal ordination. For themselves, they declared a determination not to sit in the same assembly with the hereditary rivals of their nation; or of receiving laws from those who were the pupils of a system of slavery and arbitrary government. The unfortunate refugees, alarmed at these resolutions, turned to the proprietaries to confirm their assurances.

Ludwell was compelled to suspend the contemplated measure until he could hear from Europe; and in the meantime, Craven county, in which the French refugees lived, was not allowed a single representative in the pro-

vincial parliament. To the application of these unfortunate and truly noble exiles, from whom we derive many of the first families of our state, and some of the first names of our republic, the proprietaries returned an indecisive but a friendly answer. They continued in a state of the most painful solicitude, and an entire privation of their rights for several years after, when their patient and humane behavior prevailed equally over the political and personal antipathies of the English. Their former adversaries, won over by their praiseworthy gentleness of demeanour, advocated the pretensions they had hitherto opposed; and a law of naturalization was at length passed in favor of the aliens. But the dispute that had arisen in the province on this subject, was productive of excessive irritation against Ludwell, which was farther increased by his decisive proceedings against the pirates. The arrival of a crew of these wretches in Charlestown, where, relying on ancient privileges, they still hoped to be secure, afforded him an opportunity to endeavour, by the infliction of a tardy justice, to relieve the colony of some of the obloquy which rested upon its name. He apprehended the marauders, and brought them to trial for their crimes. The people exclaimed against this proceeding, and interested themselves so effectually, that the criminals were not only acquitted, but the government was even compelled to grant them an indemnity. It was not till twenty years had elapsed, and a hecatomb of victims had been offered up to the laws which they had offended, that Carolina was at length fairly freed from these wretches, and the stain of their communion washed from her hands and garments.—

Farther conflicts followed between the people and their rulers, in which Ludwell seemed to yield to the wishes of the former. This awakened the anxieties of the proprietaries, who at length deprived him of his office, and conferred it, with the dignity of landgrave, upon Thomas Smith.

The administration of Smith, if more peaceable, was not more successful than that of his predecessor. A popular man—wealthy—himself a planter, and long a resident among the people, he commenced his government with the most favorable auspices; but the province still remained in a confused and turbulent condition. Discontent prevailed in the land; and, in utter despair at last, he wrote to the proprietors, praying to be released from a charge which brought him nothing but annoyance, and in which he could hope to do no good. He declared in his letter, that he despaired ever to unite the people in affection and interest; and that, weary of the perpetual warfare among them, he, and many others, were resolved upon leaving the province, unless they sent out one of their own number, with full power to redress grievances, and amend the laws. Nothing else, it was his conviction, would bring the settlers to a condition of tranquility.

The proprietors adopted the suggestion of Smith, and he was succeeded by John Archdale, a Quaker, and one of their number. The fundamental constitutions were surrendered to the dislike of the people, and were formally abolished after an experiment of twenty-three years had shown them to be utterly impracticable in the condition of the colony. The government of the people was now severed from the powers conferred by the char-



ter. Archdale entered upon his work, therefore, with a judgment entirely untrammelled. His administration seems to have been a wise one. It was not distinguished by any incident of importance; it was peaceable, and received, as it merited, at its termination, the thanks of the colony, for the first time given to any of its governors. He improved the militia system, opened friendly communications with the Indians and Spaniards, discouraged the inhumanities of the former so effectually, as to induce them utterly to renounce the inhuman practice of plundering shipwrecked vessels, and murdering their crews; and combined, with singular felicity, the firm requisites of the governor, with the gentle and simple benevolence of the Quaker. "Yet," says the historian Grahame, "how inferior the worldly renown of Archdale, the instrument of so much good, to the more cherished fame of his less efficient and far less disinterested contemporary and fellow sectary, William Penn!"

It may be added that, for the first time, during his administration a regular administration of the ordinances of religion was introduced among the English of the colony. The Huguenots brought with them their holy men; and hence, perhaps, the more gentle habits, and the wise forbearance, which distinguished their conduct towards their opponents, in the long strifes and bitter enmities which encountered their claims to an equal participation of the few pleasant fruits of exile.

## CHAPTER IX.

Among other extraordinary privileges, the power had been granted to Archdale of appointing his successor in office. He chose Joseph Blake, a nephew of the celebrated British admiral, a man of great prudence and popularity. Blake governed the colony wisely and happily. Shortly after his elevation to office, a new code of fundamental constitutions was transmitted to Carolina, from the proprietors ; but this code commanded far less consideration than the last. It does not seem to have been even recognized by the provincial assembly. Blake's administration, which lasted from 1696 to his death, in 1700, was a season of political calm. Yet it was only in consequence of a succession of calamities, that the strifes of party were suspended. The pirates, whom a more severe application of the laws had driven from their old haunts in Carolina, now, in 1696, turned their arms against the settlement, and harassed its commerce.—Several ships belonging to Charlestown, were taken by them as they left the port ; the crews sent on shore, and the vessels kept as prizes. During the autumn of the same year, a dreadful hurricane inundated the town, and threatened its destruction. The swollen sea was driven in upon the shores with such impetuosity, that several persons were overtaken by the waves and drowned. Much property and many lives were swallowed up by the ocean. This inundation was followed by a fire, which nearly re-

duced the town to ashes. The small pox succeeded this last disaster, and spread death and desolation through the colony. Professional ignorance proved no less fatal than the disease. Scarcely had the colonists begun to breathe from these evils, when a pestilence broke out among them, and swept off, among numerous other victims, nearly all of the public officers, and one half of the legislature. Few families escaped a share in these calamities. Despair sat upon every countenance, and many among the survivors began to think of abandoning a colony which Providence had seemed to distinguish by every sort of calamity.

But even these afflictions did not quiet the turbulence of party. The Carolinians appeared to possess a stubborn energy of character, which soon prompted a forgetfulness of sorrow, and the causes of sorrow. The political strifes of the colony were soon renewed. The old conflicts between the people and the proprietors, on the subject of their respective rights, were revived with all the ancient acrimony; and the acquisition of Nicholas Trott, a lawyer and an able man, by the party of the former, contributed to their audacity, in a degree corresponding to the addition which he had given to their strength. It is not necessary that we should dwell upon the thousand little causes of provocation on the one hand or the other, which helped hourly to widen the breach between the parties. There was a native incoherency in the union of their fortunes—a mutual distrust, arising from a real or supposed difference of interests; and the proprietary lords were soon taught a lesson, which was afterwards bestowed in like manner

upon their monarch, that a people, removed three thousand miles from the presence of their rulers, can neither be protected by their care, nor enfeebled by their exactions.

With the administration of Blake, who died in the year 1700, ended the short term of tranquility which had originated with Archdale's government. He was succeeded by James Moore, a man of considerable talent and military enterprise, ambitious in a high degree, and an industrious seeker after popularity. He renewed the traffic in Indians, begun in the time of West, and prepared to avenge upon the Spaniards at St. Augustine, the frequent attacks which they had made upon the Carolinians. A rupture between England and Spain at this time, made that a legitimate enterprise, which, a few years before, had been arrested by the proprietors as wholly unjustifiable. Moore checked the domestic quarrels of the Carolinians, by the suggestion of this favorite expedition. Florida, he assured the people, would be an easy conquest. Her treasures of gold and silver were proposed as the rewards of valor. The wrongs which they had sustained from the Spaniards, were such as, when dwelt upon, were sufficient to warm them to the desire of vengeance. His eloquence was successful, as well in the assembly as among the people. His proposition was adopted by a great majority and in spite of the earnest opposition of a prudent few, who could not be deceived by the brilliant picture of success which had been held up to the imaginations of all. Two thousand pounds sterling were voted for the service; six hundred provincial militia raised, out of a population of about



seven thousand persons ; an equal number of Indians were incorporated with the Carolinians ; schooners and merchant vessels were impressed as transports to carry the forces ; and, in the month of September, 1702, governor Moore sailed from Port Royal, the place appointed for the rendezvous, upon an enterprise conceived in rashness and conducted without caution. The Spaniards were suffered to know all that was going on, and were preparing for defence with quite as much industry as their foes were preparing for attack. They had laid up four months provisions in the castle, which was also strongly fortified, and had sent timely despatches to the West India islands for the succor of the Spanish fleets. Colonel Daniel, a Carolinian officer of great spirit, with a party of militia and Indians, made a descent upon the town of St. Augustine by land, while the commander-in-chief pursued his way by sea. His arrangements were made with equal secrecy and promptitude ; and he attacked, took the town and plundered it, before the fleet of Moore appeared in sight. Upon Moore's arrival, the castle was closely invested, but without success. The cannon of the invaders made no impression, and colonel Daniel was despatched in a sloop to Jamaica, for supplies of bombs and mortars of the necessary calibre. But, during his absence, the Spanish fleet appeared at the mouth of the harbor, and governor Moore was compelled to raise the siege. Abandoning his ships, he retreated by land to Charlestown, having, according to the historians, fled with a rapidity as unbecoming as his rashness had been unwise and improvident. Daniel, on his return, to his great surprise

found the siege raised, and narrowly escaped being made captive by the enemy. This fruitless expedition entailed a debt of six thousand pounds upon the colony.

Notwithstanding the unhappy result of his first military enterprise, Moore, fond of warlike exploits, soon resolved upon another. The Apalachian Indians, who had been stimulated by the Spaniards to hostilities against the colony, now commanded his attention. Determined to chastise them, he raised a force of Carolinians and Indians, and penetrated into the very heart of their settlements. Wherever he went he carried fire and sword, and struck a salutary terror into the hearts of the savages. The Apalachian towns between the Savannah and Altamaha, were laid in ashes, the country ravaged, the people made captives, eight hundred of them slain, and the most hidden settlements of the enemy laid open to the devastation which followed at his heels. This exhibition of power was productive of immense moral good to the Carolinians in that quarter. It taught the savages a new lesson of respect for their arms, and prepared the way for the English settlements that were afterwards planted along those rivers. The benefit was almost equally great to the commander of the expedition. His courage and conduct removed the discredit which his previous rashness had incurred, and he received the thanks of the proprietors and the people, for the important conquests which he had made. Apalachia, the country thus won by the arms of Carolina, became afterwards, successively, the colony and state of Georgia.

Moore was succeeded in the government by Sir Nathaniel Johnson. This gentleman had been a soldier from

his youth. He had also been a member of the House of Commons in England. He was therefore esteemed to be well qualified for his trust. So, in some respects, he was; but he was at the same time strongly opposed to the dissenting party, and a docile agent of lord Granville, then the lord palatine of Carolina, whose hostility to the same class of religionists was equally bitter and inveterate. Under the instructions of this nobleman, governor Johnson, by a variety of measures, succeeded in establishing ecclesiastical worship and government in the colony. He enacted two laws, by one of which the dissenters were deprived of all civil rights. By the other, he erected an arbitrary court of high commission, for the trial of ecclesiastical causes, and the preservation of religious uniformity in Carolina. These laws drove the dissenters to desperation. They sent a special messenger to London, and their petition for redress was laid before the House of Lords, who were filled with surprise and indignation at the high handed despotism of the proprietors. The queen, (Anne,) by recommendation of the lords, issued an order, declaring the laws complained of to be null and void; and promised to institute a process of *quo warranto* against the provincial charter; but this promise was never fulfilled. An idea of the impolitic assumptions of the bigoted palatine may be formed, by a reference to the opinion which the House of Lords expressed, in their address to the queen. The law for enforcing conformity to the church of England, in the colony, they describe "an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tending to the ruin and depopulation of the province."

It was in the year 1706, that the intolerant policy of lord Granville received this check; and from that period the dissenters were permitted to enjoy, not, indeed, the equality which they had been encouraged to expect, but simple toleration. In the year following, an act of assembly was passed in South Carolina, for establishing religious worship according to the forms of the church of England. The province was divided into ten parishes, and provision made for building a church in each, and for the endowment of its minister. Before this period, neither the proprietors nor the people seem to have done much, if any thing, worthy of notice, in behalf either of education or religion among themselves. On behalf of the Indians, the moral and religious improvement of whom was the pious pretext for the establishment of the colony at first, nothing was attempted. The only European instructions that the savages received, were communicated by a French dancing master, who acquired a large estate by teaching them to dance and play on the flute.

The minds of the Carolinians were somewhat diverted from their domestic, by the approach of foreign troubles. A war, at this time waging between the great European powers of England, France, and Spain, necessarily involved the fortunes and interests of their separate colonies. A plan was set on foot, by the joint forces of France and Spain, to invade Charlestown, and the Carolinians were summoned to their arms. Governor Johnson was a military man, and the several expeditions of a warlike character in which the Carolinians had been engaged, had infused into them a very martial spirit. For-



tifications were pushed forward with rapidity, ammunition procured, provisions stored ; and industry, stimulated by zeal and valor, soon put the settlements at Ashley river in a tolerable state of defence. Fort Johnson was erected on James island, to meet this exigency ; redoubts raised at White Point, now the site of a promenade—the battery—no less beautiful than appropriately named ; and, having completed their preparations, the Carolinians calmly awaited the appearance of the foe. A French fleet, under Monsieur Le Feboure, having procured succor from Cuba and St. Augustine, appeared before Charlestown. Five separate smokes, which were raised by a corps of observation at Sullivan's island, announced the number of vessels in the invading armament.

The inhabitants of the town were at once put under arms by William Rhett, the colonel in command ; despatches were sent to the captains of militia in the country, and governor Johnson, arriving from his plantation, proclaimed martial law at the head of the militia. His presence, as a military man of known capacity and valor, inspired the citizens with confidence. His measures were calculated to confirm it. He summoned the friendly Indians, stationed his troops judiciously, gave his commands with calmness and resolve, and as the troops came in from the country, assigned them their places and duties with the composure of one who had long before adjusted his plan of resistance. The neighboring troops came to the defence of the city in numbers, and with alacrity. That same evening a troop of horse, under captain George Logan, and two companies of foot, commanded by major Broughton, reached the capital.

The next morning, a company from James island, under captain Drake, another from Wando, under captain Fenwicke, and five more, commanded by captains Cantey, Lynch, Hearne, Longbois, and Seabrook, from other parts of the province, made their appearance in the city, and with the resident militia, comprised at that time the chief military force of Carolina. Some great guns were put on board such ships as happened to be in the harbor, and the sailors were thus employed, in their own way, to assist in the defence of the city. The command of this little fleet was given to colonel William Rhett, a man of resolution and address.

Meanwhile, the enemy having passed the bar, came to anchor a little above Sullivan's island, and sent up a flag to the governor, demanding his surrender. The messenger was received blindfold, and conducted into the forts, where Johnson had drawn up his forces so as to display them to the best advantage. By transferring his troops from fort to fort, by short routes, the Frenchman was led to quadruple the real numbers of the defenders. Having demanded the surrender of the town and country to the arms of France, the messenger concluded by declaring, that his orders allowed him but a single hour in which to receive an answer. Johnson answered promptly, that it did not need a minute. "I hold this country for the queen of England:" said he. "I am ready to die, but not to deliver up my trust. My men will shed the last drop of their blood, to defend the country from the invader."

This answer, with the report of his messenger, seems to have lessened the spirit of Le Feboure. His fleet re-

mained stationary ; and, instead of attacking the city, he contented himself with setting on foot some predatory incursions into the contiguous islands. The day following this interview, a party went ashore at James island, from which the militia had been withdrawn for the defence of the city. They committed some petty trespasses, and burnt the houses upon one or more plantations, but were soon driven to their boats by a detachment under captain Drake, who had been sent over to encounter them. Another party of near two hundred men, landed on Wando neck and commenced similar depredations.—While in a state of fancied security, they were surprised before the break of day, by a detachment of one hundred men, under captain Cantey. A sharp fire from several quarters aroused them, in the same moment, to equal consciousness and confusion. Many were killed, some drowned, and more wounded. Those who escaped the attack became prisoners of war.

Meanwhile, colonel Rhett, having got his little fleet in readiness, weighed his anchors, and moved down the river to where the enemy lay. But the French did not wait his assault. They escaped by superior sailing, and put to sea without suffering an exchange of shots.—After they had disappeared from the coast, a ship of force, with two hundred men, arrived to their assistance, and was seen in Sewee bay, where she landed a number of troops. This intelligence induced the governor to send captain Fenwicke against them by land, while Rhett, with two vessels, sailed round by sea, with the view to prevent their escape by that quarter. Fenwicke, though he found the enemy well posted, charged them

gallantly, and drove them, after a spirited conflict, to their vessels. They fled from one foe only to encounter another. The movements of Rhett and Fenwicke had been so well concerted, that the ships of the former encountered the enemy in the bay, where she struck without firing a shot. Thus ended this expedition of Monsieur Le Feboure, against Carolina, as much to his own discredit as to the honor of the Carolinians. Of eight hundred men who came against the colony, nearly three hundred were killed and taken prisoners. Among the latter, were their chief land officer, Monsieur Arbuset, and several other officers.

Governor Johnson was a man of courage and spirit; the militia were men hardened to danger by frequent encounters with the Spaniards, the pirates, and the Indians. They executed their commands with the promptitude and valor of men who fought for, and in sight of, their homes, their wives, and children; and realized those results which seldom fail to reward the warrior who bares his sword under the same sacred auspices.



## CHAPTER X.

Colonel Edward Tynte succeeded Sir Nathaniel Johnson in office, under commission from lord Craven, successor, as palatine, to lord Grenville. Craven's policy favored the dissenters, as much as that of Grenville had discouraged them ; but Tynte had scarcely time to learn the real state of the country, and to establish proper regulations in it, before he died. At his death, a controversy arose in the provincial council about the succession, which had almost produced civil war, and did for a brief period array two strong parties in arms against each other. One of these declared for Robert Gibbs, the other for Thomas Broughton. Broughton drew together an armed force at his plantation, with which he marched upon the town. There he encountered a similar array, under the command of Gibbs, who manned the walls with the militia, and closed the gates against him. Aided by some of the inhabitants, who let down the drawbridge, Broughton, however, forced a passage and entered the city. After blows were exchanged and wounds given, the party of Broughton prevailed, and marched towards the watch-house in Broad street. There, two companies of militia were posted. The prudence of some of the leaders interposed to prevent the bloody consequences of an issue ; and after vainly endeavoring to make himself heard in the clamour of drum and trumpet, which prevailed, Broughton led his men off in another quarter. Some

farther excesses were committed, but the results were less fatal than was to have been feared from such a conflict. Broughton was persuaded to withdraw his party, and it was agreed between himself and Gibbs that their several claims should be left to the proprietors for arbitrament. Their determination was in favor of neither. The office of governor was conferred upon Charles Craven, a brother of the lord palatine, who was immediately proclaimed in form, and took upon him the administration.

Craven was a man of great knowledge, courage and integrity; and mutual esteem in council, and harmony in the colony, followed his appointment. He improved the defences of the colony, cultivated the friendship of the neighboring Indians and Spaniards, and took especial heed to the equitable and prompt administration of justice. Under his direction, the harbor of Port Royal was sounded and examined, and the spot selected for the future erection of the town of Beaufort—so called in honor of Henry duke of Beaufort, afterwards lord palatine of the colony.

In the year 1712, the Indians of the northern province, the Corees, Tuscaroras and other tribes, rose in arms and united to destroy the colonists. They murdered John Lawson, surveyor general of the colony, and large numbers of other settlers. Aid was implored from South Carolina, and Craven despatched six hundred men, under the command of colonel Barnwell, to their relief. Hideous and wild indeed, was the wilderness, at this time, through which Barnwell was compelled to march. Unbroken forests, unopened swamps, deep waters, and tangled thickets, lay in his path. Without roads, he could employ neither carriages nor horses, and yet the utmost despatch

was necessary in order to save the North Carolinians from their bloody enemies. In spite of every difficulty, Barnwell rapidly made his way until he came up with the savages. He attacked them with boldness and success, slew three and made captives of one hundred men. The Tuscaroras he found, to the number of six hundred more, in one of their towns on the Neuse river. They were sheltered by a wooden breastwork. Having surrounded them, and slain a considerable number, he compelled the rest to sue for peace. This was granted; but the faithless savages, as soon as he had returned to South Carolina, renewed their massacres. A second demand was made upon governor Craven, and a second force, under the command of colonel Moore, the son of the former governor, was despatched to meet the enemy. Moore found the Indians on the Tau river, about fifty miles from its mouth, where they had thrown up entrenchments. They were well provided with small arms, but were soon taught the folly of standing a siege. Moore defeated them, entered their works, and made eight hundred prisoners. The military strength of the Tuscaroras was annihilated in these conflicts.

This Indian war was succeeded by another, which for a time threatened the very existence of the colony. The numerous and powerful tribe or nation of the Yamassees, possessing a large territory in the neighborhood of Port Royal, had long been friendly to the Carolinians. They had engaged as allies in most of the wars against the Spaniards, the French, and Indian tribes; had done good service, and always proved faithful. Instigated by the Spaniards at St. Augustine—the hereditary enemies

of the Carolinians—who had united the Cherokees, the Muscoghees, and other Indian nations in a league for the destruction of the colony—the Yamasees suddenly appeared in arms. With so much secrecy had their proceedings been conducted, that, at their onslaught, above ninety persons fell under their hatchets on the plantations near Pocotaligo. Joined with the Muscoghees and Apalachians, they advanced along the southern frontier, spreading desolation and slaughter where they came. Their numbers were increased by the Congarees, the Catawbias, and the Cherokees; and the Carolinians were soon taught to apprehend the very worst consequences from the presence of a foe no less numerous than savage. The Indians of the southern division mustered more than six thousand warriors; those of the northern were near a thousand more. From Florida to Cape Fear they were banded together, and marching forward to the destruction of the colony at Ashley river.

But Craven proved himself equal to the emergency. He proclaimed martial law, laid an embargo on all ships to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the colony, seized upon arms and ammunition wherever they were to be found, and armed a force of trusty negroes to co-operate with the white militia. With twelve hundred men, he marched to meet the enemy. The Indians, meanwhile, continued to advance, plundering and murdering without mercy as they came. Thomas Barker, a captain of militia, with a small force, encountered them, and was slain with many of his men. At Goose Creek, a troop of four hundred surrounded a little stockade which contained seventy white men and forty negroes. These maintained



themselves for awhile, but listening imprudently to overtures of peace, they admitted the savages within their defences, and were all butchered. In this manner, in a desultory march, they traversed the country around the capital, until the approach of governor Craven compelled their scattered bands to fall back upon their great camp upon the Salke-hatchie. Craven advanced with cautious but undeviating footsteps. The fate of the whole province depended on the success of his arms, and conquest or death were the only alternatives before him. Fortunately for the Carolinians, they had long been accustomed to the Indian modes of warfare. Its strange cries, and sudden terrors, did not appall them. The war-whoop had become a familiar sound, which they had learned to echo back with defiance; and when the battle joined, adopting the partizan warfare, which the deep thickets and interminable swamps of the country seem to suggest as the most likely to prove successful, they encountered their more numerous foes with confidence and success. The Indians fought with desperation and fury, but were defeated. Driven from their camp, they maintained a flying warfare, but found the Carolinians as inveterate in the pursuit as they had been valiant in the conflict. Craven kept his men close at the heels of the enemy, until, step by step, they were expelled from the country, and escaped only by throwing the Savannah between themselves and their foes. They found shelter in the walls of St. Augustine, and for a time, until they grew troublesome, were treated there with sympathy and indulgence. Expelled from the allies whom they could no longer serve, their future abodes were found in the everglades of the

Seminole, of which people they are conjectured, with sufficient plausibility, to be the ancestors. In this insurrection, Carolina gained a vast accession of valuable territory, but lost no fewer than four hundred inhabitants.

Craven was succeeded in his short but brilliant administration, by Robert Johnson, a son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had formerly held the same office. He found the Carolinians suffering from the vast debts accumulated by their recent wars, the invasion of the province by the Indians and Spaniards, and the destruction of their commerce by the pirates. To relieve them from this last annoyance, having no vessels of war of their own, application was made to the king of England, George of Hanover, who issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all pirates who should surrender themselves within twelve months. At the same time a force was ordered to sea for their suppression. As the island of Providence had long been their harboring place, captain Woods Rogers with a few ships of war, took possession of it for the crown. All the pirates on the island, with the exception of one Vane, and about ninety men who escaped in a sloop, surrendered themselves under the proclamation of the king. Vane fled to North Carolina, and distinguished himself soon after by the capture of two merchant ships of Charlestown. Two pirate sloops, commanded by Steed Bonnet and Richard Worley, found refuge in Cape Fear river, whence they issued on their depredations. Against these, colonel William Rhett, the same gentleman who had distinguished himself in the French invasion, was sent in a single ship. Rhett soon discovered Bonnett, pursued and captured him. Governor Johnson himself embarked

soon after this achievement, and captured the sloop of Worley after a desperate conflict. The pirates fought with the fury of doomed men, and were all killed or wounded. The wounded men were tried and instantly executed, to anticipate the more honorable death which was threatened by their wounds. Bonnet and his crew were also tried, and all, except one man, were hung and buried on White Point, below high-water mark. Johnson increased his popularity by this display of valor. Other achievements of the same kind followed these, and the coast of Carolina was at length cleared of those robbers of the sea, who had fastened themselves upon the infant colony almost from its commencement.

It was during the administration of Johnson that a revolution was effected in the colony, by which the people threw off the proprietary government and placed themselves under that of the crown. It is needless to go into details, to show the causes which moved them to this change. They have already been summed up in former pages, and it is enough, in this place, to say, that the interests of the two parties, not perhaps well understood by either, were never found to assimilate. It would be a miracle, indeed, if a colony governed from a distance, should be well governed; and the natural evils incident to such a state of things, were necessarily increased by those peculiar troubles which had harrassed the fortunes of the Carolinians. Repeated wars, frequent invasions, robberies by pirates, and the heavy debts which accrued from these events, had made them ready to ascribe to political influence abroad, and to the operation of laws in which neither their wishes nor their interests had been consulted

by the proprietors, the oppressive circumstances against which they had so long struggled. The conflict between the lords and the actual possessors of the soil, grew daily more serious ; and, availing themselves of the presence of the provincial assembly, then in session in Charles-town, the leaders of the people prepared in secret the scheme of a revolution, which proved perfectly successful. To these proceedings, governor Johnson, who was a faithful adherent of the proprietors, was an entire stranger until he received a letter, dated November 28th, 1719, and signed by Alexander Skene, George Logan, and William Blakeway, in which they informed him of the general association to throw off the proprietary rule. Against these attempts Johnson struggled earnestly but vainly. A proclamation for dissolving an assembly which he found himself unable to manage, was torn from the hands of the marshal, he himself was deposed, and colonel James Moore, already known for his military achievements, was made governor in his stead.

A day which had been appointed by Johnson for reviewing the militia, was that chosen by the convention which elected Moore, for the purpose of publicly proclaiming him. The governor having intelligence of this design, ordered colonel Parris, the commander of the militia, to postpone the review. Parris, however, was one of the popular party, and Johnson was surprised, on the day appointed, to find the militia drawn up in the market place, drums beating, and colors flying on forts and shipping. Exasperated beyond prudence at this defiance of his authority, he advanced upon Parris as if to assault him ; but the colonel ordered his men to present and fire if he ad-



vanced a step nearer. Johnson found himself utterly unsupported. Moore was declared governor of the province in the king's name, and the acclamations of the populace, and the unanimity which prevailed among them, sufficiently declared to Johnson his own, and the downfall of the proprietary government.

One circumstance alone revived his hopes. Having received certain advice that a Spanish fleet of fourteen ships and twelve hundred men had left the Havana, destined against South Carolina and the island of Providence, Johnson conceived it a proper time to endeavor to recall the people to a sense of their duty. He wrote to the convention, and strove to reclaim them by showing the danger of military operations under illegal authority; but the stubborn citizens remained firm in their defection, laughed at his warnings, and, in concert with the governor of their own creation, proceeded to make preparations for their defence. The militia was soon under arms, but the Spanish expedition proved abortive. Repulsed from Providence, and dismantled in a storm, the Spanish fleet was incapable of injury to Carolina.

The arrival of several English armed vessels in the port of Charlestown, suggested other plans to the deposed representative of the lords proprietors. Their commanders having declared for him, as the magistrate invested with legal authority, he brought up the ships of war in front of the town, and threatened its immediate destruction if the inhabitants any longer withheld their obedience to his authority. But with arms in their hands and forts in their possession, accustomed to conflict, and perhaps rather pleased with its excitements, the Carolinians were not

to be terrified by the threats of one whose persuasions had failed to pacify them. Their answer of scornful defiance, accompanied by a couple of shot from the forts, convinced Johnson of the hopelessness of his cause ; and finding the people so determined, he drew off his forces and forbore all farther attempts to recover his lost authority. The lords proprietors, at length made aware of the impolicy of any farther struggles in behalf of a plantation which they had managed with reference to their own pride and love of power, rather than to its real wants and the particular circumstances of its condition ; and perhaps wearied with the continual opposition of a fiery and headstrong people ; were easily persuaded to dispose of their pecuniary interests to the crown of England. Their political rights, under the charter, had been already declared forfeited. About this time the province was divided into the colonies of South and North Carolina. With the appointment of general Francis Nicholson, as governor of the former colony, begins the royal government of England over it.

## CHAPTER XI.

The change from the proprietary to royal authority, resulted in conferring upon South Carolina increased security and freedom. The form of her government was no longer a speculative plan devised by theoretical writers, but a constitution which had been tested and confirmed by successive ages of experience.

The first object of the royal concern, after the purchase of the colony, was to establish foreign and domestic peace, on the most permanent foundation. Laws were passed, relieving the inhabitants from many of the evils of which they complained, and the treaties of alliance with the Cherokees and other Indian nations were renewed. An embassy, at the head of which was Sir Alexander Cumming, explored the Cherokee country in 1730, three hundred miles from Charlestown, where he met the principal warriors, and even assisted at the creation of some of their chiefs. Six of these wild inhabitants of the forest returned with him to Charlestown, and accompanied him thence to England, where the king told them, that "he took it kindly that the great nation of Cherokee had sent them so far to brighten the chain of friendship between his and theirs. That chain," he said, "is now like the sun, which shines as well in Britain as upon the great mountains where they live. It equally warms the hearts of Indians and of Englishmen; and as there is no blackness on the sun, so neither is there any rust upon the

chain. He had fastened one end of it to his breast, and he desired them to carry the other end and fasten it to the breast of Moytoy of Tellico, the great chief, and to the breasts of all their wise men, their captains, and the people,—never more to be broken or unloosed.”

The treaty which followed this interview was pronounced, by both parties, to be one which should endure while the rivers continued to run, the mountains to stand, and the sun to shine. Skiajagustah, the Cherokee orator, made a reply in the figurative language of his people.

“We are come hither,” he said, “from a mountainous place where all is darkness; we are now in a place where all is light. There was one in our country who gave us a yellow token of warlike honor, which is with Moytoy of Tellico. He came to us like a warrior from you. As warriors we received him. He is a man,—his talk was good,—his memory is among us. We love the great king. We look upon him as the sun. He is our father; we are his children. Though you are white and we are red, our hearts and hands are joined together. We shall die in this way of thinking. We shall tell our people what we have seen; our children, from generation to generation, will remember it. In war we shall be one with you. Your enemies shall be ours. Your people and ours shall be one, and shall live together. Your white people may build their houses beside us. We shall not do them hurt, for we are children of one father.” He laid down a bunch of eagle’s feathers as he added: “These stand for our words; they are the same to us as letters in a book to you. To your beloved men we deliver these feathers to stand for all that we have said.”



For twenty years this peace was religiously observed by both parties. Meanwhile, Georgia was formed into a colony, and settled under the government of the celebrated general, Oglethorpe. New influences began to prevail for the benefit of the two colonies. The merchants of Great Britain found their interest in encouraging the trade with the Carolinians; and the introduction of an immense number of slaves, which enabled them to clear and cultivate lands which had been hitherto inaccessible to European labor, enabled the planters to extend, immeasurably, their credit and resources. The produce of the province, in a few years, was doubled. Forty thousand barrels of rice were exported in 1731, besides deer-skins, furs, naval stores, and provisions. Charlestown contained six hundred buildings; and constant improvements and daily accessions of population and property began to distinguish the Ashley river settlement, as one of the most flourishing of all the English colonies in the new world. Nor were the improvements confined to the metropolis. A vast accession of Indian lands, in the interior, encouraged the settlers to penetrate even to the Cherokee country.

A colony of Swiss settled on the Savannah, and established the town of Purrysburgh. Eleven townships were marked out on various rivers: two on the Altamaha, two on Savannah, two on Santee, and one on each of the rivers, Pedee, Black, Waccamaw, and Wateree. Spacious churches sprang up, even in the wilderness; and the providence of the royal proprietor provided ample military stores and arms for the defence of his new and valuable acquisitions.

The Spaniards maintained an evil eye upon the flourishing condition of their ancient enemies, and brooded with anxiety over the long cherished desire to destroy a people whom they still continued to regard as intruders. Their emissaries tampered equally with the Indians and negro slaves of Carolina; and, frequently successful with the former, were at last influential with the latter. The runaways whom they seduced from their masters, were formed into a regiment at St. Augustine; and this fact, once known to their brethren, was too imposing to their imaginations to fail of its effect. They rose in revolt upon the Stono, and having plundered some store-houses of their arms and ammunition, elected a captain, and proceeded, with drums and colors, on their way to the south-west. On their march they massacred the whites without discrimination and compelled the negroes to join their bands. Colonel William Bull, then governor, returning to Charlestown from the southward, met them without having been seen, and quietly rode out of their way. He spread the alarm, which soon reached the presbyterian church at Willtown, where a numerous congregation had assembled. It was, fortunately, the custom among the planters—a custom compelled by law—to carry their arms with them to the place of public worship. Indeed, for the first seventy years of the colony, the Carolinians had felt the necessity of bearing arms on all occasions and in all places, whether their purpose was sport, labor, or devotion. Under the command of captain Bee, they sallied forth, leaving the women and children in the church, trembling with apprehensions. They came upon the negroes while engaged in

a carousal over some liquors which they had found by the way. They had halted in an open field, singing and dancing in all the barbarous exultation of success. In this condition, to overcome them was an easy task. Dividing his force into two squads, Bee attacked with one, while the other closed the avenues of escape. Several were killed ; the rest, dispersed in the woods, endeavored to steal back to the plantations which they had deserted. The leaders suffered death, while the greater number was received to mercy.

A war which followed between Spain and England, afforded the Carolinians an opportunity for commencing a series of reprisals upon the Spaniards, for the long train of evils which they had suffered at their hands. The great foreign military reputation of general Oglethorpe, of the Georgia colony, indicated that gentleman as the proper person to lead the joint forces of the two provinces of Carolina and Georgia against their common enemy. A small European force was sent from Great Britain; companies were furnished by Virginia and North Carolina; the rest of the army was composed of the Georgia militia, and a strong regiment from South Carolina, under the command of colonel Vanderdussen.

After various delays, which have been charged against general Oglethorpe as the true causes of the failure of the expedition, and which certainly enabled the Spaniards to provide against the invaders, he reached St. Augustine ; having, on his way, captured two small forts called Moosa and Diego. His force amounted to two thousand men. But, during his stay at Fort Diego, the garrison at St.

Augustine had received an accession of strength from six Spanish galleys, armed with long brass nine pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions. When he summoned the fortress, he was answered with defiance. The haughty Don, secure in his strong hold, sent him for answer, that he would be happy to shake hands with him within the castle. A bombardment followed this reply, but without effecting any change in the spirit of the defenders. The fire was returned from the castle and galleys, but little injury was done on either side, and the besiegers found it wiser to consult than to cannonade.

The only hope of Oglethorpe had been to effect his object by surprise. Failing in this, the light weight of his metal, and the ample preparations of the Spaniards against blockade, left him but little prospect of achieving the conquest of so strong a fortress in any other manner. Meantime, the Spanish commander, perceiving that the operations of the besiegers were relaxed, and suspecting their embarrassment, sent out a detachment of three hundred men against a small party under colonel Palmer, which lay at Fort Moosa. This commander suffered himself to be surprised, and his men, who were sleeping at the time, were most of them cut in pieces. This disaster, in connection with the desertion of the allied Indians, added to the already sufficient reasons which existed for abandoning the expedition. These people, who are not calculated for tedious enterprises, that demand patience and afford no opportunities for action, were offended with the haughty humanity of the general. When they brought him the scalp of an enemy, he called them barbarous dogs, rejected the trophy, and bade them



begone from his sight. They compared this reception with that to which they had hitherto been accustomed, and soon after deserted him.

The siege was raised, and its failure was ascribed by the Carolinians to the deliberate and measured advance of their commander, and to his subsequent timidity in making no bold attempt upon the town. He, on the other hand, declared that he had no confidence in the firmness of the provincials. The truth is, the place was so strongly fortified, well provided and numerously manned, that, in all probability, such an attempt must have failed, though conducted by the ablest officers, and executed by the best disciplined troops.

The mutual recrimination between the parties, which followed this failure, led to many injurious dislikes and misunderstandings. To so great a degree was this dislike carried on the part of the Carolinians, that, in a subsequent period, when Georgia was invaded by a Spanish force, they at first declined sending help to the sister colony; alleging that they could not trust their troops to a commander in whom they had no confidence. At a late hour, indeed, they resolved differently, and despatched three ships to the assistance of the Georgians. The appearance of this tardy force upon the coast, gave a spur to the flight of the invaders. Oglethorpe had already beaten them,—acquitting himself like a good captain and brave man, and fully redeeming the errors, if any, which he had made in the expedition to St. Augustine.

To add to the disasters sustained by Carolina in this unsuccessful invasion—her losses of men, money and repute—a desolating fire, in the same year, (1740) broke out

in the capital, which consumed one half of the town. Three hundred houses were destroyed, and an immense quantity of goods, provincial commodities and provisions. Twelve years after this event, a hurricane nearly destroyed what the fire had spared, and the devoted city was only saved from being utterly swallowed up in the seas, by a providential change of wind. The waters of the Gulf Stream, which had been driven by the blast upon the shores, were permitted to subside into their accustomed channels. In ten minutes after the wind had shifted, the waters fell five feet. But for this, every inhabitant in Charlestown would have perished. Many were drowned,—many more hurt; the wharves and fortifications were demolished, the provisions in the fields were destroyed, and vast numbers of the cattle perished. The dwellings of the town presented the appearance of one general ruin.

In 1755, the Cherokees renewed their treaty of peace with the Carolinians, and accompanied this act by a cession of a vast portion of territory. This cession, apart from the intrinsic value of the land, was important in another respect, as it served to remove the Indians still farther from the white settlements. Several forts were built by Glen, then governor of Carolina, in the ceded territory. One of these, called Prince George, was situated on the banks of the Savannah, and within gun-shot of an Indian town called Keowee. It contained barracks for an hundred men, was built in the form of a square, had an earthen rampart six feet high, on which stockades were fixed, with a ditch, a natural glacis on two sides, and bastions at the angles, on each of which four small cannon were mounted. On the banks of the same river,

about one hundred and seventy miles below, another fort was raised, called Fort Moore, in a beautiful and commanding situation. Another, called Loudon, was built on the Tennessee, upwards of five hundred miles from Charlestown. These strong holds were garrisoned by troops from Britain; and the establishment of these defences in the interior, led to the rapid accumulation of settlers in all the choice places in their neighborhood.

In the year 1757, and while William Lyttleton, afterwards lord Westcott, was governor of Carolina, a large party of Cherokee Indians who had been serving in the armies of Great Britain against the French in the west, and had assisted in the conquest of the famous Fort Duquesne, returning from the wars to their homes, took possession of a number of horses belonging to the whites, as they passed through the back parts of Virginia. The Virginians rashly resented the robbery by violence. They killed a number of the warriors, and took several prisoners. This aggression kindled the flames of war among the injured people, who commenced the work of reprisal by scalping the whites wherever they were found. Parties of the young warriors rushed down upon the frontier settlements, and the work of massacre became general along the borders of Carolina. The Carolinians gathered in arms, and when the chiefs of the Cherokees became aware of the fact, they sent a deputation to Charlestown to disarm the anger of the people by a timely reconciliation. Unhappily, governor Lyttleton treated these messengers with indignity, and finally made them prisoners. Having resolved upon a military expedition, he refused to listen to their orator, but proceeded,

with his force—the chiefs being under guard—to his rendezvous on Congaree river, where he mustered fourteen hundred men.

The Cherokees, burning with indignation at this treatment, were yet subtle enough to suppress the show of it. They agreed to such terms as Lyttleton proposed,—gave up twenty-two out of twenty-four hostages which he demanded, to be kept till the young warriors who had committed the murders upon the Carolinians, could be secured and delivered,—and renewed their pledges of peace and alliance. But he had scarcely returned to the capital when he received the news of the murder of fourteen whites within a mile of Fort George. A colonel Cotymore had been left in charge of that fortress. To this officer the Indians had taken an unconquerable aversion. Oconostota, a chief of great influence, had become a most implacable enemy of the Carolinians, and proposed to himself the task of taking Prince George. Having gathered a strong force of Cherokees, he surrounded it; but finding that he could make no impression on the works, nor alarm the commander, he had recourse to stratagem to effect his object. He placed a select body of savages in a dark thicket by the river side, and sent an Indian woman to tell Cotymore that he wished to see him at the river, where he had some thing of consequence to communicate. Cotymore, accompanied by his two lieutenants, Bell and Foster, imprudently consented. When he reached the river, Oconostota appeared on the opposite side, having in his hand a bridle. He told Cotymore that he was on his way to Charlestown, to procure a release of the prisoners, and would be glad of a white



man to go with him as a safeguard,—adding, that he was about to hunt for a horse for the journey. Cotymore told him that he should have a guard; and while they parleyed, Oconostota thrice waved the bridle over his head. This signal to the savages in ambush, for such it was, proved fatal to the three officers, who were instantly shot down. Cotymore was slain on the spot; the two officers were wounded. In consequence of this deed, the garrison proceeded to put in irons the twenty hostages that had been left with them. They resisted the attempt, and stabbed three of the men who endeavored to put the manacles on them. The garrison, in the highest degree exasperated, fell upon them in fury, and butchered them to a man.

This catastrophe maddened the whole nation. There were few Cherokee families that did not lose a friend or relative in this massacre, and with one voice they declared for battle. They seized the hatchet, and singing their songs of war, and burning with indignation for revenge, they rushed down—a reckless and countless horde—upon the frontiers of Carolina. Men, women and children, without discrimination, fell victims to their merciless fury; and, to add to the misfortunes of the borderers, Charlestown, laboring under the presence of that dreadful scourge, the small-pox, was too feeble to send them succor. What could be done, however, was done. Seven troops of rangers were furnished by Virginia and North Carolina; and a British force, under the command of colonel Montgomery, afterwards earl of Eglintoun, was sent by general Amherst, the commander-in-chief in America at that time, to the relief of the province. Montgomery

chastised the Cherokees in several severe engagements, in which they lost large numbers of their warriors; but without humbling them to submission. He was compelled to return to New York, leaving his work unfinished.

In the meantime, the distant garrison of Fort Loudon, on the Tennessee river, consisting of two hundred men, was reduced by famine. The Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, but failed to do so; and the miserable occupants were reduced to the necessity of submitting to the mercy of the Cherokees. Captain Stuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, to whom the post had been entrusted, succeeded in obtaining good terms of safety; upon which he capitulated. By these terms the garrison were permitted to march out with their arms and drums, as much ammunition as was necessary on their march, and such baggage as they might choose to carry. The Indians were to take the lame and wounded soldiers into their towns, provide as many horses as they could for the garrison, furnish guides, and an escort which was to protect them;—for all of which they were to be paid according to certain estimates which were understood among them. The fort, cannon, powder and ball, were delivered up to the Indians.

The capitulation took effect, and the garrison had proceeded fifteen miles upon their march, when they were deserted by their guides and escort, beset by a large body of savages, and, though fighting gallantly, were overcome. Twenty-six men fell at the first fire, a few escaped by flight, while Stuart, the commander, with many others, was carried into captivity. Stuart, through the friendship of one of their chiefs, finally escaped, after

many hardships, into Virginia ; but the rest of the prisoners were kept in a miserable captivity for some time, and redeemed at last only at great expense.

Though the Cherokees had suffered severely from the measures of Montgomery, they were not yet disposed for peace. The French maintained emissaries among them who continually fomented the appetite for war. "I am for war!" cried a young warrior of Estatoe, in a council where an agent of France had been busy to make them discountenance the efforts of some of their own chiefs, who labored in the cause of peace: "I am still for war! The spirits of our brothers call upon us to avenge their death. He is a woman who will not follow me!" The savages, moved by his wild eloquence, seized the tomahawk anew, and the war was renewed in all its former fury.

## CHAPTER XII.

On the part of the Carolinians, every effort was made to meet the emergency and to open the campaign with vigor. A provincial regiment was raised, the command of which was given to colonel Middleton. Among the other field officers were Henry Laurens, William Moultrie, Francis Marion, Isaac Huger, and Andrew Pickens ; gentlemen, all of whom subsequently became burning and shining lights in the history of Carolina achievement. In the expedition thus resolved upon, they commenced that admirable course of training, which prepared them for the arduous trials and severe conflicts of the revolution, which shortly after followed. An additional force of British regulars, under colonel James Grant, landed at Charlestown early in the year 1761 ; and the combined troops, together with a number of friendly Indians, in all twenty-six hundred men, were placed under the command of this gentleman.

The Cherokees encountered Grant, with all their strength, near the town of Etchoe, on the spot where they had fought with Montgomery in the previous campaign. They were posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, from whence they rushed down upon the advanced guard, pouring in a destructive fire as they came. The guard repulsed them, and continued to advance. The Cherokees recovered the heights, and the endeavor to dislodge them brought on a general engagement, which



was fought on both sides with great bravery. The Carolinians contended against several disadvantages, which made the issue for some time doubtful. They had come suddenly within sight of the foe, and had advanced to immediate conflict, after a fatiguing march in rainy weather. They were surrounded with woods of which they had no knowledge, and which completely sheltered the enemy from their aim; galled by the scattering fire of the savages, who fell back whenever they advanced, only to rally and begin the fight in another quarter. For three hours did this sort of warfare continue, until the persevering valor of the whites succeeded in completely expelling the Indians from the field. They fled, fighting while they ran, in different directions. They were pursued with energy, and found no opportunity to unite or rally. Their loss in the action is unknown; that of the Carolinians was fifty or sixty, killed and wounded. The slain were not buried, but sunk in the river, that their bodies might not be exposed to the indignities of the savage.

After this victory, Grant advanced upon Etchoe, a large Cherokee town, which was reduced to ashes.—Every other town in the middle settlements shared the same fate. Their granaries and corn fields were likewise destroyed, and their miserable families were driven to the barren mountains which, in yielding them a shelter, could yield them nothing more. The name of Grant became, in consequence of this chastisement, a word signifying devastation. The savages, who had fought with great vigor and spirit for a time, and who, it is conjectured, had been posted and counselled by some experienced French officers, were completely overcome. The na-

tional spirit was for a while subdued, and they beheld, with the supineness of despair, the flames of their towns, and the desolation of their settlements. They humbly sued for peace, through the medium of the old and friendly chief, Attakullakulla. "I am come," said the venerable chief, "to see what can be done for my people, who are in great distress. As to what has taken place, I believe it has been ordered by the great Master above. He is father of the whites and Indians: as we all live in one land, let us all live as one people." His prayer was granted; peace was ratified between the parties, and the end of this bloody war, which was supposed to have originated in the machinations of French emissaries, was among the last humbling blows given to the expiring power of France in North America.

This campaign, which was so creditable to the valor of all concerned in it, was followed by an unhappy difference between the commanders of the regular and provincial forces. Colonel Grant was a Scotch officer of high spirit. He possessed much of that haughty feeling of superiority which was so apt to distinguish the conduct of soldiers of the mother country in their treatment of the provincials; a signal example of which exhibited itself but a short period before, in a neighboring colony, in the deportment of the depraved and arrogant Braddock to the brave and virtuous Washington. In its indulgence, he gave offence to colonel Middleton, his associate in command, a gentleman no less tenacious of the honor of the province than of his own position. During the expedition, Grant had displayed an offensive indifference to the counsels of the provincial officers, whom the British

were but too apt to consider incapable of a correct judgment in military operations. He had also claimed the chief credit of having conquered the Cherokees. This claim was resisted by Middleton with energy and spirit. A controversy ensued: Middleton challenged Grant to the field of personal combat, and a meeting took place, which happily terminated without bloodshed. But the controversy aroused a feeling in the Carolinians, who generally sided with their champion; and the bitter animosities which this affair enkindled in their bosoms, it is not improbable, contributed to awaken the provincials to a more keen conviction of the haughty, domineering spirit of the mother country—a spirit which spared no opportunity of displaying itself, and which was no less insolent in its deportment, than unjust in most of its exactions.

From this period we may date the true beginning, not only of the prosperity, but the independence of Carolina. The Indians were subdued upon her frontiers, and the 'peace of Paris' had relieved her from the secret machinations and the open hostility of France. Security from all foreign enemies, left her free to the consideration of the true relation in which she stood with Great Britain—a question which forced itself upon all the American colonies at the same period of time; and opened that spirit of inquiry and examination, which, passing from fact to fact, and from principle to principle, with amazing rapidity, arrived at length at those convictions of political truth, which have placed the united country at the very summit of political freedom. Never did any colony flourish in a more surprising degree than South Carolina,

as soon as the Cherokees were overcome, and the French and Spaniards driven from her borders. Multitudes of emigrants from all parts of Europe, flocked to the interior, and pursuing the devious progress of the streams, sought out their sources, and planted their little colonies on the sides of lofty hills, or in the bosom of lovely vallies. Six hundred poor German settlers arrived in one body; Ireland poured forth such numbers from her northern counties, as almost threatened the depopulation of the kingdom. Scarce a ship sailed for any of the plantations, that was not crowded with men, women and children, seeking the warm and fertile regions of Carolina, of which such glowing tidings had reached their ears, and where the land was proffered in bounties to all new comers. Nor did the colony receive these accessions from Europe only. In the space of a single year, more than a thousand families with their effects, their cattle, hogs and horses, crossed the Alleghanies from the eastern settlements, and pitched their tents upon the Carolinian frontier. These accessions brought strength and security to the province. In proportion as the number of white inhabitants increased, its danger from the savages was lessened. With numbers came the exercise of mind as well as body, and this exercise, as it taught them their importance to Great Britain, soon induced a natural pride in their own strength, and a proper jealousy of their liberties. They had hitherto obeyed a foreign government, as they had been indebted to its power for protection. But their increase of numbers, their vast extent of territory, the variety of their productions, and the wealth which these necessarily procured, gradually subtracted



from the overweening estimate which, in their dependence, they were willing to put upon British valor and genius, and the advantages of an intimate British connection. The great stretch of sea which divided them from the governing power, led, necessarily, to their gradual alienation from it. They saw few of its pomps; they shared in few of its favors; and when the arrogance of parliament endeavored to make them more familiar with its powers, by reason of its exactions, they were then willing to know it only as a foe. From the moment when the peace of Europe led to the withdrawal of all pressure from an external enemy, they had been receiving those impressions, and acquiring that strength, which prepared them to perceive, and enabled them to resist, all such laws as they deemed hostile to their interests, or dangerous to their liberties. The hardships they had endured, made them singularly jealous from the beginning: many of them had inherited a natural aversion to monarchy from their ancestors, the puritans; and the removal of the cavaliers from the sources and shows of royalty, had gradually weaned them from that faith in its saving virtues, by which they had been so ready of old to swear. A new race had succeeded to them in Carolina, and puritans and cavaliers had merged their hostility of doctrine in that unanimity of practice, which alone could give them success in the seventy years of strife and trial, through which they had struggled together; so that, long before the British parliament began to vex them by its strained authority, they were disposed to deny its supremacy, and cut asunder those cords which bound them to the mother country—cords too much attenuated by the

distance between the parties, to endure very long the pressure or the violence of either.

The strength of these connecting cords was soon to be tested fatally. The first British statute that awakened the general opposition of the colonies, was one entitled the "Stamp act." It was passed in the year 1765. By this it was enacted, that all instruments of writing which are in use among a commercial people, should be void in law, unless executed upon stamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by parliament.—South Carolina declared her opposition to this assumption of arbitrary power, without waiting to consult with any other colony. Her example had considerable effect in recommending measures of like opposition to many others; who were more tardy in their concurrence. The assembly of Carolina embodied the sentiments of the greater number of the people, in the principles contained in the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That his majesty's subjects in Carolina, owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, that is due from its subjects born there. That his majesty's liege subjects of this province, are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain. That the inhabitants of this province appear also to be confirmed in all the rights aforementioned, not only by their charter, but by an act of parliament, 13th, George II. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them, but with their own consent. That the people of this province are not, and from their local circumstances*

cannot be, represented in the house of commons in Great Britain; and farther, that, in the opinion of this house, the several powers of legislation in America, were constituted in some measure upon the apprehension of this impracticability. That the only representatives of the people of this province, are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be, constitutionally imposed on them, but by the legislature of this province. That all supplies to the crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the people of this province. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in this province. That the act of parliament, entitled, an act for granting and applying certain stamp-duties and other duties on the British colonies and plantations in America, &c., by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of this province; and the said act and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of this province. That the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament, on the people of this province, will be extremely burdensome and grievous; and, from the scarcity of gold and silver, the payment of them absolutely impracticable. That as the profits of the trade of the people of this province ultimately centre in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all the supplies granted to the crown; and besides, as every in-

dividual in this province is as advantageous, at least, to Great Britain, as if he were in Great Britain, as they pay their full proportion of taxes for the support of his majesty's government here, (which taxes are equal, or more, in proportion to our estates, than those paid by our fellow-subjects in Great Britain upon theirs,) it is unreasonable for them to be called upon to pay any further part of the charges of government there. That the assemblies of this province have from time to time, whenever requisitions have been made to them by his majesty, for carrying on military operations, either for the defence of themselves or America in general, most cheerfully and liberally contributed their full proportion of men and money for these services. That though the representatives of the people of this province had equal assurances and reasons with those of the other provinces, to expect a proportional reimbursement of those immense charges they had been at for his majesty's service in the late war, out of the several parliamentary grants for the use of America; yet they have obtained only their proportion of the first of those grants, and the small sum of £285 sterling received since. That, notwithstanding, whenever his majesty's service shall for the future require the aid of the inhabitants of this province, and they shall be called upon for this purpose, in a constitutional way, it shall be their indispensable duty most cheerfully and liberally to grant to his majesty their proportion, according to their ability, of men and money, for the defence, security, and other public services of the British American colonies. That the restrictions on the trade of the people of this province, together with the late duties and



taxes imposed on them by act of parliament, must necessarily greatly lessen the consumption of British manufactures among them. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of the people of this province, depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and on an affectionate intercourse with Great Britain. That the readiness of the colonies to comply with his majesty's requisitions, as well as their inability to bear any additional taxes beyond what is laid on them by their respective legislatures, is apparent from several grants of parliament, to reimburse them part of the heavy expenses they were at in the late war in America. That it is the right of the British subjects of this province to petition the king, or either house of parliament. *Ordered*, That these votes be printed and made public, that a just sense of the liberty, and the firm sentiments of loyalty of the representatives of the people of this province, may be known to their constituents, and transmitted to posterity."

The stamp act was repealed, in consequence of the universal hostility which it provoked in America; but a like measure of arbitrary authority was attempted in the year following. Duties were imposed upon glass, paper, tea, and painters' colors. The opposition of the colonies was renewed with partial success; the duties, with the exception of that upon tea, were all withdrawn; and the Americans determined to defeat the effect of this reservation, by refusing to consume a commodity which was made the medium of unjust taxation. This resolution was rendered inoperative, by a scheme of the West Indian company. It sent to the colonies large shipments of tea,

to be sold on account of the company. This measure increased the anger of the colonists, who promptly entered into combinations to obstruct or prevent its sale. In some places the landing of it was forbidden; the cargoes sent to South Carolina were stored, and the consignees restrained from exposing it in the market. It rotted in the ware-houses. In Boston a more summary and violent measure was adopted. A few men, disguised as Indians, entered the vessels and threw the cargoes overboard. This trespass on private property, provoked the British parliament to take legislative vengeance upon the town where it was committed. Acts were passed which virtually put Boston in a state of blockade. Other acts followed, by which the whole executive government was taken out of the hands of the people, the nomination of all officers vested in the king or his representative, and the charter of the province violated in some of its most vital features.

These proceedings had the effect of producing a general confederacy of the colonies, to sustain Massachusetts against measures which threatened the colonists with utter subjugation to the dominion of arbitrary authority. South Carolina, in an assembly of the people, declared, "that the late act for shutting up the port of Boston, and the other late acts relative to Boston, and the province of Massachusetts, are calculated to deprive many thousand Americans of their rights, properties and privileges, in a most cruel, oppressive, and unconstitutional manner; are most dangerous precedents, and though leveled immediately at the people of Boston, very manifestly and plainly show, if the inhabitants of that town are intimidated into

a mean submission to said acts, that the like are designed for all the colonies ; when, not even the shadow of liberty to his person, or of security to his property, will be left to any of his majesty's subjects residing on the American continent."

The South Carolinians concluded their resolutions, by sending Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Edward Rutledge, as deputies, to meet the deputies from the other colonies in a general congress, at Philadelphia. On the return of these delegates to South Carolina, with a report of their proceedings, a provincial congress was held at Charlestown, forming a new representative body of one hundred and eighty-four members. They met on the 11th of January, 1775, and without a dissenting voice, approved of what had been done in the continental congress. They passed a number of resolutions suited to the times, and concluded by a mixed recommendation to all the inhabitants, which savors of the old leaven of puritanism, to practice the use of fire arms, and set aside a day for prayer, fasting, and humiliation. These recommendations for arming and praying, were carried into effect with equal zeal, and Charlestown resumed the appearance, which it had so frequently worn before, of a garrisoned town. Volunteers formed themselves into separate bands ; and the very boys of the city, emulating their seniors, were soon busy in the use of mimic weapons, and in the practice of the manual.

While affairs stood in this posture, a packet reached Charlestown, containing despatches from the British government to the governors of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, which were seized by William Henry

Drayton, John Neufville, and Thomas Corbett, three gentlemen forming a select committee which had been appointed for this very object. These despatches presented abundant evidence of a determination on the part of England to coerce America by military force. This evidence was sufficiently confirmed by the affair of Lexington, which happened on the same day, and which, when the intelligence reached Carolina, awakened the most lively feelings of indignation and revenge. A fierce spirit of freedom was kindled in every bosom, and all statutes of allegiance were considered as repealed on the bloody plains of Lexington.

The Carolinians were unprovided, but not unprepared, for war. They knew the strength of Britain—her fleets, her armies, her wealth; they knew their own poverty, their want of numbers, and the vast extent of coast and frontier, which, in the event of war, they were obliged to defend;—but they breathed nothing but defiance. Arms and ammunition they chiefly wanted, and they resolved upon the only measure which could yield them a supply. This measure was an overt act of treason. Twelve hundred muskets were in the royal magazine. That very night, when intelligence of the battle of Lexington was received, the arsenal was entered by persons disguised and unknown, and emptied of all its contents. The provincial congress was again assembled. On the second day of its meeting, it was unanimously resolved that an association was necessary. The parties to this instrument, which was signed by Henry Laurens, as president, pledged themselves to “be ready to sacrifice life and fortune to secure the freedom



and safety of South Carolina ; holding all persons inimical to the liberty of the colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe the association." This document was tendered to the lieutenant governor, William Bull, who was a native of the province, but he refused to sign it. The congress resolved to raise two regiments of foot, a company of rangers, and to put the town and province in a state of defence. So great was the excitement and ardor of the people, that, in a few weeks after the battle of Lexington, the popular leaders had a treasury and army at command. While the congress was in session, the royal governor, lord William Campbell, arrived in the city. Its members waited upon him, with an address of congratulation, in which, among other things, they declare, "that no love of innovation, no desire of altering the constitution of government, no lust of independence, has had the least influence upon their councils." "We only desire the secure enjoyment of our rights." Campbell replied that he was "incompetent to judge of the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies," and refused to recognize any representatives of the people, except in the constitutional assembly.

At the time these military operations were in progress, the whole quantity of powder in the province, did not exceed three thousand pounds. To obtain a supply, extraordinary measures were necessary. Informed that a British sloop had reached St. Augustine, having a large supply, twelve persons sailed from Charlestown, and carried her by surprise, though she was in charge of as many grenadiers. They took out fifteen thousand pounds of powder, and spiking the guns of the vessel, set sail for Beaufort,

which port they easily made, while their pursuers were waiting for them at the bar of Charleston. This seasonable capture was sent to the relief of Massachusetts, where it happened to be more immediately required. The next military proceeding of the popular leaders, was to take possession of Fort Johnson. Colonel Motte, with a small party of provincials, was appointed to execute this duty. Before he landed on the island, however, the fort was dismantled, and the British retired on board of two armed ships, the Cherokee and Tamar, which lay in the harbor. Captain Heyward, with a detachment of the Charlestown artillery, occupied the fort the same night, and by dawn of the next day, had three guns ready for action. Colonel Moultrie, with another party, soon after mounted some heavy cannon at Haddrell's Point; and a few well-directed shot drove the British vessels out to sea. Hostilities were thus fairly commenced in South Carolina. Forts on James' and Sullivan's islands, Haddrell's point, and other places, were immediately constructed; the militia were diligently put in training, the provincial troops disciplined, and all the means within the knowledge and power of the Carolinians, and important to their interests and safety, were consulted and secured. Conscious of the justice of their cause, and satisfied with what they had done towards its success, they awaited with natural impatience, the progress of that fearful drama, the opening of which we have already seen.

### CHAPTER XIII.

The revolution thus effected by the popular leaders in South Carolina, did not receive the unanimous approbation of the people. There were many, even on the seaboard, who either secretly or openly denounced it; and large and populous settlements in the interior, supported their opposition by appearing in arms at an early period, in behalf of the royal cause. The British government had been known to the Carolinians chiefly by its benefactions. Its treasures had supplied them; its power had protected them; its arms had succored and defended them from foreign and domestic foes. The pressure of an abstract principle was not felt by many, in opposition to the substantial advantages which had accrued to them from their connection with the "mother country;" by which endearing term of relationship England had been so long distinguished in the colony. South Carolina had, indeed, been a favorite plantation of the crown; and the reluctance of thousands in the colony to sever the friendly bands which had linked them together, was not less honorable to their affections, than it had proved prejudicial to their interests. That the people who were subsequently degraded under the general and opprobrious term of "tories," were, in the greater number of instances, governed by an honest and loyal, if not a just sense of duty, cannot well be questioned. That they were behind the time, and slow to recognize those necessities

which grew up in compliance with the hourly changing condition of their country, is equally undeniable. If the patriots were too warm, they were too cold. If to the one party, the shadows of coming events were beheld at too great a distance, to the other, the substance itself appeared little more than a shadow. Unhappily, the indiscretion of individuals of both parties, increased the differences between them, and the gulf through which they had to wade, to sympathy and union in the end, was one that dyed their garments in blood, the stains of which, to this day, are scarcely obliterated.

The prompt and decisive measures of the seaboard, soon placed that section of the colony in a tolerable state of defence. This done, the popular leaders extended their precautionary labors to the interior; but it was not so easy, in many parts of the country, to persuade the people that such measures were necessary; and the manner of proceeding, on the part of some of the agents entrusted with these measures, led to a suspicion among the people of the country, that their adversaries intended to dragoon them into compliance. This suspicion, artfully encouraged by certain emissaries of the royal cause whom the forethought of lord William Campbell had sent into the interior, aroused all that fierce spirit of independence, which repeated strifes and trials had made no less suspicious than active; and instead of signing the document by which the leaders of the lower country had pledged their lives and fortunes to each other, in a joint opposition to the royal authorities, they entered into resolutions to oppose the patriots, to whom they ascribed motives and designs as dishonorable as they were un-



founded. Camps were soon formed of the opposite parties, and hostile bodies were quickly gathered in arms. The tories, or loyalists, who dwelt in the forks between Broad and Saluda rivers, were headed by two brothers, named Patrick and Robert Cunningham, both remarkably well calculated, by courage, strength, and intelligence, to be popular leaders in a time of commotion. Robert having shown himself remarkably active in opposition to the revolutionists, was arrested by the authority of the council of safety, and committed to the jail of Charlestown. This aroused Patrick, who, arming a body of his friends, pursued, with the expectation of rescuing his brother. He seized, on this occasion, and while in this pursuit, a thousand pounds of powder which was passing through the settlement at this juncture, and which had been sent by the council of safety, as a present to the Cherokee Indians. A report which had been industriously spread, that the powder was sent to inflame the Indians to rise upon and massacre all those who refused to sign the association, exasperated the ignorant multitude, and roused them to the commission of those acts which placed them openly in arms against the country.

Major Williamson, who commanded the militia on the part of congress, went in pursuit of the loyalists who had seized the powder; but he was compelled to retreat before superior numbers. They pressed the pursuit, and Williamson retreated to a stockade fort, where he was besieged, and where he suffered from want of water and provisions for several days. He was relieved by a truce, under the terms of which both parties retired to their homes. But the popular leaders were not satisfied with

these events, which led them to apprehend domestic and foreign warfare at the same moment,—a British fleet and army in front, and a disaffected people in the rear. They resolved to enforce obedience, while yet the time was allowed them, and sent a force of two thousand men, under colonel Richardson, into the refractory settlement, with instructions to apprehend the leaders of the party which had seized the powder, and to do all other things necessary to suppress the present, and prevent future insurrections. This decisive measure had the desired effect. Opposition was overcome; many of the loyalists subscribed the terms proposed by the congress; some of the leaders were made captives, while several of them voluntarily abandoned the colony, and fled to Florida. It was not until a strong British army appeared in the country, that they were emboldened to throw off the mask, and emerge from their hiding places.

Having quieted their domestic difficulties, the popular leaders resumed their preparations against the approach of the enemy. Batteries were raised at Georgetown and other places; a fort and magazine were established at Dorchester; Charlestown became a garrison; the advanced posts were all filled with troops; and the fort was begun on Sullivan's island, by colonel Moultrie, which now bears his name, and which, shortly after its erection, became identified with his military reputation. Powder and arms were gleaned from various sources; and in March, 1776, a congress convened, with the title of a general assembly, of which John Rutledge was made president, and a temporary constitution formed for the government of the state. South Carolina was the first of

the colonies that formed an independent constitution. Its basis was the fundamental democratic principle, that the will of the people is the source of law, honor, and office.

The same reasons which had arrayed a large portion of the Carolinians in opposition to their countrymen, provoked the especial indignation of the British government. The conduct of Carolina was regarded as particularly ungracious. She was selected, therefore, as peculiarly deserving of chastisement. Her sympathy with the wrongs of Massachusetts, rather than any injuries done to herself, had been the true cause of her taking part in the conflict. She had few, if any, of those occasions for quarrel, which brought the people of the north into collision with those of Europe. She had no manufactories to maintain in opposition to those of England—she had no shipping or seamen which could enter into competition with that marine by means of which Great Britain indulged a fond ambition to rule the waves. She provided the raw material which the other manufactured, and she received the manufactured goods in exchange for her productions. The intercourse was simple enough between them, and the occasions for conflict were few and unimportant. The overweening arrogance of British officers and agents, by offending the self-esteem of her sons—a proud and ambitious race—may be enumerated among these occasions; and the jealousies engendered between the troops of the province and those of the mother country, which led to the affair between colonels Grant and Middleton, recorded in a previous chapter, were, without doubt, as keenly felt and remembered as they were warmly indulged at the time of their provocation. These, no

doubt, served, much more effectually than the duties on stamps or tea, to place Carolina in that attitude of defiance which she was shortly required to maintain with her ablest manhood.

Before colonel Moultrie had yet put his fort at Sullivan's island, in a condition to meet the foe, fifty sail of British vessels appeared upon the coast. All was now commotion, if not alarm, among the patriots of Charlestown. The troops thronged to the city; the women and children, such as could procure means of flight, were sent into the country; and, with a breathless but stern anxiety, the popular leaders prepared for the approaching issue. With a high idea of British valor, and an imperfect knowledge of their own resources, the Carolinians did not, however, despond at the appearance of this formidable armament. Their force, swelled to five thousand men by the arrival of troops from the adjacent states, were placed under the command of major general Lee, an officer of the continental army. The first regular regiment of South Carolina, commanded by colonel Gadsden, was stationed at Fort Johnson, a small fort on the most northerly point of James island, about three miles east from Charlestown, and within point blank shot of the channel. The second and third regular regiments of Carolina, under the command of colonels Moultrie and Thomson, occupied the two extremities of Sullivan's island. The other forces were assigned places at Haddrell's point, James island, and along the bay in front of the town. The stores on the wharves were pulled down, and lines of defence, run along the water's edge, were manned chiefly by the citizens.



The larger vessels of the British fleet were three days employed in getting over the bar. On the 28th day of June—a day which should be famous to all succeeding time in the annals of Carolina—this fleet, under the command of Sir Peter Parker, consisting of two fifty gun ships, four frigates, and a number of smaller vessels, advanced to the attack. The first object which drew their attention, was the little fort of colonel Moultrie, a mere speck upon Sullivan's island, which, it was not supposed, could maintain any protracted conflict. Such was the opinion, not of the British merely, but of general Lee, who commanded in Charlestown. He called it a mere slaughter house, and asserted that a couple of British frigates would knock it about the ears of its defenders in half an hour. It was built of palmetto logs, placed in sections, which were filled in with earth. The merlons were sixteen feet thick, and sufficiently high to cover the men against the fire from the tops of the enemy's vessels. One part of the fort was unfinished ; but this part, most fortunately, was not attacked by the assailants. The palmetto is a tree peculiar to the southern states, the wood of which, being remarkably soft and spongy, is singularly suited to the purposes of defence against cannon. A bullet entering it makes no splinters nor extended fractures, but buries itself in the wood, without doing hurt to the parts adjacent. Within the fort was a morass, which favored the defenders, as it extinguished the matches of such shells as fell within the enclosure. Some of the shells thrown on this occasion, were found fifty years after, unexploded, with the fuse unconsumed, and the missiles with which they were charged, still in their orig-

inal integrity,—harmless memorials of the direst purposes of harm.

While the British fleet was preparing to attack the fort, colonel Thomson, at the head of the third Carolina regiment, kept the land forces of the enemy, under Sir Henry Clinton, in check, at the eastern extremity of the island. Between ten and eleven o'clock, the thunder bomb vessels began to throw shells. Four of the ships, the *Active*, of twenty-eight guns, the *Bristol* and *Experiment*, each of fifty, and the *Solebay*, of twenty-eight, came boldly on to the attack. A little before eleven o'clock the garrison fired four or five shot at the *Active*, while under sail, but without doing hurt. When she came near the fort she anchored, with springs on her cables, and commenced the battle with a broadside. Her example was followed by the other vessels, and a storm of iron was rained upon the little fortress, with the most unremitting fury. The bomb vessel continued to throw shells, until she was disabled; and amidst the roar of three hundred heavy cannon, the courage of the defenders, who were almost wholly natives of Carolina, was summoned to its most fearful trial. But their conduct did not belie their well-earned reputation, nor leave it doubtful what would be their course in the war which was to ensue. They stood as coolly at their posts as if they had been trained veterans. With a limited supply of ammunition which forbade the constant exercise of their guns, they were enabled to time their discharges with regularity, and direct them with a singular precision of aim which told fearfully upon the enemy.

At one time, the commodore's ship, her stays shot away, swung round with her stern upon the fort, inviting, in that unfavorable situation, the fire of all its guns. For a moment every cannon that could be made to bear, belched forth its iron upon her. "Mind the commodore, the fifty gun ship!" was the cry, echoed by men and officers, along the whole range of the little battery. Dreadfully did she suffer from this attention. Her scuppers ran with blood; her quarter deck was twice swept of every man but her commander, and he himself narrowly escaped with two wounds, which disabled him. With a loss in killed and wounded of more than one hundred men, she was at length, but with some difficulty, withdrawn from the action.

Nor was the loss of the other vessels, comparatively speaking, much less. That of the Experiment, in slain, was greater. Her captain was maimed, fifty-seven of her men killed, and thirty wounded.

The battle lasted till near nine o'clock in the evening, and the ammunition of the little fortress was exhausted during its continuance. This led to the belief, on the part of the assailants, that the defence had ceased, and they sent up three vigorous cheers in token of their satisfaction. But a fresh supply of powder, from the city, soon undeceived them. The battle was renewed with ten-fold fury, and though the imperfect structure which sheltered the Carolinians, reeled and trembled to its base at every broadside which they fired, they kept to their guns, resolved to meet the invaders behind the crumbling ruins, rather than yield in a conflict upon which were equally staked the pride and the possession of their country.

By a mishap of the invaders, which was of the most providential good to the garrison, they were deprived, almost in the beginning of the conflict, of one of their most formidable means of annoyance. Three vessels, the Sphynx, the Active, and the Syren, were sent round to attack the western extremity of the fort, which was so unfinished as to afford a very imperfect cover to the men at the guns, not only in that, but in almost every other part of the structure. These vessels, in aiming to effect their object, got entangled with a shoal called the Middle Ground, and ran foul of each other. The Active stuck fast, and was finally abandoned by her crew and destroyed; but not before a detachment of the Carolinians had boarded her, and discharged her loaded cannon at her retreating consorts. The Syren and Sphynx got off and escaped; but not till they had suffered too many injuries to enable them to take any farther share in the battle.

The fire of the fort was chiefly directed against the Bristol and Experiment, both of which suffered severely and equally in hull, masts, and rigging. The Bristol had forty men killed and seventy-one wounded. She was hulled in several places, and but for the smoothness of the water, must have filled and sunk. Lord William Campbell, late royal governor of the province, acting as a volunteer on board, received a wound which ultimately proved fatal. The loss of the garrison was but ten men killed, and twice that number wounded. The shot of the British flew over the fort, or buried themselves in the soft wood of the palmetto.

One of its defenders distinguished himself by an instance of daring which alone has made him famous. In the be-



ginning of the action, the flag staff was shot away. The flag of Carolina, in her first battle for independence, was a simple stripe of blue cloth, bearing a silver crescent. Sergeant Jasper, of the grenadiers, immediately leaped over, upon the beach, and, amid the hottest fire of the foe, recovered the ensign, ascended the merlon and deliberately restored it to its place. Another brave man, sergeant Macdonald, mortally wounded by a cannon-ball, still continued to cry aloud to his comrades to maintain the liberties of his country. His words of patriotic exhortation, coupled with his name, have survived his own sufferings and the thunders of that fearful day.

## CHAPTER XIV.

The result of this ill conducted expedition contributed greatly to establish the popular government in the affections of the people. It quieted the fears of the many and overcame the opposition of the few; the revolutionists exulted and the royalists were silenced. The doubtful grew confident in the success of a cause thus prosperously begun, while the patriotic appealed to it for the confirmation of every thing which had been predicted. Experience had now shown that a British fleet might be successfully resisted; and this conviction, alone, was of the most beneficial importance to the cause of the revolution. It emboldened the popular spirit, and drew forth, in aid of the colony, many who had hitherto withheld themselves because of an exaggerated estimate which they had made, of the power of Great Britain to quell the rebellion at a blow. Perhaps it had its disadvantages, also, as it inspired presumption instead of confidence;—leading the Carolinians into a false security, and making them neglectful of those precautions which, in a state of war, are the only just guarantees of complete success.

Among the fruits which this battle produced, was a liberal concession of favor to the loyalists at home, by the leaders of the revolutionary party. Victory, which inspires generosity in all noble foes, prompted the Carolinians to set free the leaders of the opposition, whom they had taken into custody. There may have been some pol-

icy in this. The state wished to conciliate their friendship rather than provoke their hostility, and restored them to the rights and privileges of the citizen. But the venom was not withdrawn with the weapon. Their minds rankled under a sense of injury, which was increased rather than diminished by the defeat of the British arms; and they remembered, in bitterness and blood, in long succeeding years of strife, the mortifications to which they had been exposed, and the wrongs which they believed themselves to have suffered.

The successful defence of Fort Moultrie gave a respite of three years to South Carolina, from the calamities of war. In that period, however, the Carolinians were not suffered to be idle. Two expeditions were projected against Florida, where large bodies of British and royalists were banded together,—but they both proved abortive. Better success attended the arms of the state in an invasion of the Cherokee country. There, the active machinations of John Stuart, an officer of the crown, had succeeded in exasperating the Indians against the Americans, and in rousing them to arms. A plan was arranged by Stuart, in concert with the royal governors, to land a British army in Florida, which, uniting with the Indians on the western frontiers of Carolina, and the tories in Florida and elsewhere, would fall upon the back parts of the state, at the same time that a fleet and army should invade it on the sea coast.

The plan was fortunately discovered by the Carolinians, and timely preparations led to its partial defeat; but so active had been the royal emissaries among the Cherokees, that, simultaneously with the battle of Fort Moultrie, they

commenced their massacres upon the frontiers. This invasion was marked by the usual barbarities of Indian warfare. Poorly provided with arms, the borderers betook themselves to stockade forts, in which they were shut up. Col. Williamson, who was charged with the defence of the back country, succeeded in raising a force of five hundred men. A small affair with the Indians, in which they were defeated, led to a discovery which opened a new and bloody page in southern history. Thirteen of their number, who were taken, proved to be white men, disfigured, disguised, and painted so as to resemble Indians. Henceforth, a warfare between the civilized was to ensue, so savage in its atrocities as to justify the description given of it by general Greene, who asserts that the "parties pursued each other like wild beasts." Other states knew nothing of the horrors which were the consequence of the domestic feuds of the south. The news of the defeat of the British fleet produced the best effects when it reached the theatre of this bloody warfare. The patriots were encouraged, the tories dispirited. The former turned out with alacrity, and Williamson soon found himself at the head of twelve hundred men. With a detachment of three hundred horse, he advanced upon a tory and Indian force at Occnoree creek. His approach was known, an ambuscade laid for him, and he found himself in the thick of a desperate conflict, for which he was only partially prepared. His horse was shot under him, an officer slain at his side, and under a dreadful fire his army thrown into disorder.

It was rallied by colonel Hammond, the thicket was charged and the day retrieved. Marching through the



Indian settlements, Williamson proceeded to lay them waste. With an army of two thousand men, he penetrated their country where the people were most numerous. Entering a narrow defile, enclosed on each side by mountains, a second ambuscade awaited him. Twelve hundred warriors from the surrounding heights, poured in a constant fire upon his troops, from which they were only saved by the charge of the bayonet. The Indians fled after a severe conflict, in which they lost ground rather than men. The Carolinians suffered severely from their fire. Williamson proceeded on his task of destruction, which in a short time was made complete. Penetrating their planted and beautiful vallies, he destroyed their crops and villages. All their settlements eastward of the Apalachian mountains were laid waste; and to avoid starvation, five hundred of their warriors fled to join the royalists in Florida. The conquest of the country was complete, and the Cherokees sued for peace. They were compelled to cede to South Carolina, all their lands beyond the mountains of Unacaya. These lands form at this moment, the flourishing districts of Greenville, Anderson, and Pickens.

The declaration of American independence, by the congress at Philadelphia, followed hard upon the battle of Fort Moultrie. The latter event took place on the 28th of June; the former on the 4th of July following, 1776. The representatives of South Carolina in the continental congress, at this exciting period, were Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Thomas Lynch, and Arthur Middleton. For this event South Carolina had been long prepared. She had in fact maintained

an independent government for two years before ; and the solemn declaration of her own and the liberty of her sister states, while it gave a more imposing aspect to the revolution, could not well add any thing to the firmness of her resolution, or the determined character of her opposition to the royal authority. It was received with welcome by the greater number of her people, amidst the ringing of bells, the beating of drums, and the discharge of cannon.

For nearly three years after the battle of Fort Moultrie, the arms of the British were employed at the northward. South Carolina, during this period, felt few of the sufferings of war, other than those which we have just narrated. She was in possession of a lucrative commerce, and her people were fortunate and prosperous. In 1777 and '78 Charlestown was the mart which supplied with goods most of the states south of New Jersey. An extensive inland traffic sprung up, in consequence of the presence of the British fleets upon the northern coasts, in which a thousand wagons were constantly employed. The prosperity which followed this trade was an additional argument in favor of the revolution. The American alliance with France, by giving them a new importance in the eyes of so great a foreign power, was another ; and three campaigns which the united forces of America had sustained, if not with brilliant success, at least with a degree of manhood which utterly falsified those prophets who had predicted their annihilation under the crushing power of the British lion,—contributed to confirm the people of South Carolina in a resolution to be their own masters, from which they never afterwards departed ; though, in

process of time, victory fled from her banner, and defeat upon defeat followed her fortunes, and threatened the ruin of her fondest hopes. A flag sent into the port of Charleston, under which the commissioners of Great Britain to the Americans denounced the extremities of war against her, if she continued to prefer the alliance of France to a reunion with the mother country, was met by the instant defiance of her government, by which the flag vessel was commanded to depart immediately from the waters of the state.

The campaign of 1779 opened with a renewal of the British hostilities against South Carolina. Savannah had fallen the year before, and in the rapid extension of the British arms, under colonel Campbell, over the state of Georgia, South Carolina had become a frontier. The proximity of her enemy called for early preparation, and major general Lincoln, of the continental army, was chosen to command her troops and conduct the defence of her territory. This gentleman was particularly designated by the leading patriots of the south for the station which was assigned him. He brought to the southward great reputation, and, under many disadvantages and a small army, preserved the state for fifteen months against a superior enemy; still it may be permitted us to wish henceforward, that the commanders of our troops may be found among our own people, with a knowledge of the character and interests of those whom they defend, and an equal knowledge of the soil, the situation and circumstances under which they fight. Commanders wanting in this knowledge, have led many thousand gallant men to defeat, when they might have been led to victory.

The continentals in South Carolina, under the command of Lincoln, did not exceed six hundred men. The rest of his force consisted of militia, whose term of service changed every second or third month. He established his first post at Purysburg, on the Savannah river, for the purpose of maintaining a watch upon the movements of the British army in Georgia. Moultrie was stationed at Port Royal island, from whence he drove major Gardiner, at the head of a British force two hundred strong, which had been sent from the royal army at Savannah for its capture, and to explore the way for a greater enterprise. His own force, wholly of Charlestown militia, comprised about the same number of men. The British suffered severely, and lost nearly all their officers.

This little success prevented their contemplated invasion of South Carolina for a time, and they confined their operations to the upper country, where their emissaries were active among the tories. Hundreds of these were now embodied upon the western frontier of the state. Here they were encountered by colonel Pickens, at the head of three hundred men. After a vigorous contest of nearly an hour, the royalists were defeated with great slaughter, their commander, colonel Boyd, being among the slain. The prisoners taken, were tried as traitors to South Carolina, of which they were subjects, and to which they owed obedience. A regular jury determined on their offence, and seventy of them were condemned to death—a sentence, however, carried into effect upon five only of the principal leaders. The rest were pardoned.

The failure of this second insurrection of the tories, and the severity of their punishment, defeated their plans



for a time, and deprived them of their vigor. Unsupported by the British, they fled and dispersed themselves over the country, while a few sent in their adhesion to the new government and cast themselves upon its mercy.

As the British extended their posts on the south side of the Savannah, Lincoln made encampments at Black Swamp and opposite Savannah. From these points, he crossed the river in two divisions, with the view of limiting the operations of the enemy to the sea coasts of Georgia only. In the execution of this design, he sent general Ashe, with fifteen hundred North Carolinians and a few Georgians, across the river at a point a little above the British army. Ashe proceeded to Briar Creek, where he suffered himself to be surprised by lieutenant colonel Prevost ; the militia were thrown into confusion and fled at the first fire. Several were killed, many were drowned in attempting to cross the river, and a large number was made captive. Sixty men, the few continentals under colonel Elbert, attached to Ashe's army, fought with the greatest bravery, but were forced to surrender.

This unhappy event deprived Lincoln of one-fourth of his army, and opened a communication between the British, the tories and Indians of the states of North and South Carolina. It also emboldened Prevost to undertake an expedition of considerable daring, which was almost successful. Availing himself of the critical moment when Lincoln, with the main force of the southern army, was one hundred and fifty miles up the Savannah river, he crossed with two thousand chosen troops, flanked by several hundred Indians and loyalists, and pressed on with all despatch for the conquest of Charlestown.

Moultrie had been left in command at Purysburg with one thousand militia. With this inferior force, he threw himself in the path of the British general, striving, while retreating to the defence of the city, to impede his progress as much as he could, and gain time for the citizens to improve their fortifications. Lincoln could not be persuaded that the march of Prevost was any more than a feint by which to divert him from his operations in Georgia. When the real object of the enterprising enemy was ascertained, the American general set forth with all possible expedition on his return. But for the firmness of Moultrie, and the zeal of the citizens, he would have arrived too late. When Prevost crossed the Savannah river, Charlestown was almost defenceless. Invasion on the land side, while Moultrie lay at Purysburg, and Lincoln was in Georgia, was an event so unexpected, that no provision had been made against it; but zeal compensated for past remissness, and a brief delay of Prevost along the road, lost him the prize he aimed for.

This delay enabled the citizens to fortify Charleston neck with lines and an abbatiss. The militia in the vicinity were collected. The whole country was in commotion. Five several armies were marching for the capital. Moultrie, with his thousand men, pressed by Prevost, was hurrying in, less with the view to his own safety than to throw himself into the city. Lincoln, with four thousand men, seeking to recover lost ground and time, was pressing on the footsteps of Prevost. Rutledge, governor of the state, with six hundred militia from Orangeburg, and colonel Harris with a detachment

from Augusta of two hundred and fifty, were seeking to re-inforce Moultrie. These three last reached Charleston in season.

On the 11th of May, nine hundred of the British army crossed the Ashley river ferry and appeared before the lines. Their cavalry were encountered as they advanced, by the infantry of an American legion, under count Pulaski, a distinguished Polish exile. A bloody conflict ensued, in which the Americans were forced to retreat; but not till they had shown a degree of desperate courage which inspired equal confidence in the citizens and caution in the enemy.

The whole army of the British took post about a mile above the lines. Unfurnished for a seige, their only hope of success lay in an assault; and to meet this, the garrison stood to their arms all night. A false alarm during the night, led to a general discharge of musketry and field pieces along the city lines, by which unfortunate mistake, major Benjamin Huger, at the head of a patrol, was killed with twelve of his party.

The next day the surrender of the town was demanded by Prevost; and in the temporary panic which his presence with so strong a force inspired, the proposal was actually entertained by a portion of the citizens. The negotiation was finally left to Moultrie, whose answer was an unhesitating defiance. "I will save the city," was the confident answer of this brave man, and it restored the confidence of the citizens. The assault was not even attempted. The firmness of the citizens, and the approach of Lincoln with his army, determined Prevost to forego the conquest so nearly in his grasp. He decamped that night, being

warned by an intercepted letter from Lincoln, that the delay of another day would compromise the safety of his whole army.

Prevost hurried to James island, where he committed some petty depredations. He was closely watched by the force under Lincoln, and on the 20th of June, detachments from the two armies encountered near Stono ferry. The British, to the number of seven hundred men, had entrenched themselves, having three redoubts with a line of communication. Field pieces were planted in the intervals, and the whole was secured by an abatis. The American detachment numbered twelve hundred men. That the enemy might be harassed, or lulled into security, they were alarmed by small parties, for several nights preceding the action. When the real assault was made, two companies of the seventy-first regiment sallied out to support the pickets. These were charged with so much valor, that but nine of their number got safely within the lines. All the men at the British field pieces were either killed or wounded; but after an attack of an hour and twenty minutes, the victory was taken from the grasp of the assailants by the appearance of a re-inforcement. The Americans were drawn off in good order, without loss; and the enemy, availing themselves of the respite, fled by way of the islands to Port Royal, from whence they made their way to Savannah.

Thus ended the second expedition of the British against the metropolis of South Carolina.



## CHAPTER XV.

This invasion of general Prevost was creditable neither to the valor nor the honor of British soldiers. His troops distinguished themselves by predatory depredations only. Private houses were robbed of their plate, persons of their jewels; the very vaults of the dead were broken into for concealed treasures, and three thousand slaves were carried off and sold to the planters of the West Indies. Numbers of these unfortunate people, following the camp of the British, fell victims to disease, being left to perish without medicine or attendance, wherever they sank down. Hundreds of them expired of camp fever on Otter island, their unburied carcasses being surrendered to the beasts of the forest. For years after, the island was strewed with bleaching bones,—a miserable memorial of their own folly, and of the inhumanity of those who first seduced them from their homes, and then left them to perish.

A brief calm succeeded the action of Stono, in the affairs of Carolina. The Americans and British retired to their respective encampments, until the arrival of a French fleet on the coast aroused them to immediate activity. This fleet, commanded by count D'Estaing, consisted of twenty sail of the line. Its arrival at once led to the adoption of a joint resolution of the allied troops, to attack Savannah; and orders were issued to the militia of Carolina and Georgia, to rendezvous in the

neighborhood. Flushed with the belief that the fall of Savannah was certain, the Americans turned out with alacrity, and on the 16th of September, 1779, Savannah, beleaguered by the united force of Lincoln and D'Estaing, was summoned to surrender. The garrison requested twenty-four hours to consider the demand. Unhappily, this delay was allowed, and the fortunate moment lost, in which an assault might have proved effectual. In that time, a detachment of British troops, which had been stationed at Beaufort, under the command of lieutenant colonel Maitland, succeeded in throwing itself into the beleaguered city.

The arrival of such a re-inforcement determined the garrison to risk an assault. The besiegers were reduced to the necessity either of storming or regularly besieging the place. The former measure was resolved upon. On the evening of the 23d, they broke ground, and on the 4th of October following, opened a fire upon the city from nine mortars and thirty seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and sixteen from the river. These continued to play with little intermission for four days, but without making any serious impression on the defences of the place. Preparations were then made for an assault. This measure was forced on D'Estaing, by the necessity of withdrawing his fleet without delay from a coast which is so dangerous to shipping at such a season of the year. The morning of the 9th of October was fixed upon for the attack. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on the Spring Hill battery, with 2500 French troops, 600 continentals and 350 of the Charlestown militia; the whole being led by

D'Estaing and Lincoln. The assault was ordered to take place at 4 o'clock in the morning; but some miscalculations having been made, it was broad day light when the troops advanced to the attack, when all their movements were perceptible to the enemy.

By the desertion of a grenadier the night before the assault, the British were also apprised of the contemplated arrangements, and were enabled to strengthen themselves in the Spring Hill battery by additional forces, which were withdrawn from those points against which the feints were to be made. Under these disadvantages, the allied troops nevertheless marched forward with great boldness to the assault, but under a heavy and well directed fire, not only from the batteries, but from several armed gallies which lay in the river and threw their shot directly across their path. This cross-fire did such fearful execution as to throw the front of the column into confusion. A general retreat was commanded, after it had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes; but not before the ramparts were carried by the South Carolina regiment. Lieutenants Hume and Bush planted its colors upon the walls, but they were shot down a moment after. These colors had been presented to the regiment for its gallant conduct at Fort Moultrie. It was a point of honor that they should not be lost. Lieutenant Gray endeavored to save them, and received his mortal wound in the attempt. Jasper, the brave man who replanted the crescent flag of Fort Moultrie on the merlon in the hottest fire of the foe, was more successful. He bore them back from the bloody heights and delivered them in safety to his comrades; but he too received a mortal wound in

doing so, and died in a little time after. Dearly did the little regiment pay for the preservation of this object of military pride.

In this unfortunate attempt upon Savannah, the combined armies sustained a heavy loss. D'Estaing himself received two wounds, and nearly a thousand men were slain or wounded in the brief but sanguinary conflict which ensued.

After this repulse, the idea of taking the place by regular approaches was resumed, but soon discarded. D'Estaing was uneasy at the exposed situation of his fleet; and the militia were no less anxious to return to their homes. The leaguer was conducted without spirit and was soon discontinued. D'Estaing soon after re-embarked and left the continent, while Lincoln returned to Charlestown. With this affair, the campaign of 1779 ended in the south. The arrival of the French, if productive of no other good, served for awhile to confine the British to the ramparts of Savannah, prevent them from overrunning the back settlements of Georgia and Carolina, and bringing into activity the malignant and discontented partizans of royalty, who were scattered in great numbers throughout the country.

But this respite was of brief duration. The failure of the attack upon Savannah, prepared the way for the fall of Charlestown. The departure of the French fleet removed the chief obstacles to this enterprise. There were several other concurring causes that invited the invasion of Charlestown. An unfortunate expedition against Florida had totally broken up the Southern army. The Carolina regiments were thinned, by sickness, to



mere skeletons ; the northern forces were all melted away, chiefly by the expiration of their time of enlistment. The Georgia regiments filled the prison ships of the invaders. The possession of Georgia by the British disarmed the patriotic citizens, and gave strength and activity to the royalists and Indians. South Carolina was, in brief, a frontier, on three sides hemmed in by bitter and uncompromising enemies. The loyalists of North Carolina, Georgia and Florida,—the Indians always ready for war, which is a kindred life with that of the hunter—were gathering in restless and roving bands upon her borders. The conquest of Charlestown promised to be easy, and with its possession, particularly if the southern army should fall with it, the British ascendancy in the south would be complete. The reduction of the whole state, and probably that of North Carolina, would ensue ; and no obstacle would then remain in the way of an uninterrupted backward path of conquest through Virginia, from the Savannah to the Delaware. The enemy were also well acquainted with the embarrassments of the state in procuring men and money. Of the six regiments of South Carolina, but 800 men could be raised ; and so miserably depreciated was the value of her paper, that the price of a pair of shoes was seven hundred dollars. The invasion of Carolina was resolved upon.

On the eleventh of February, 1780, the British army landed within thirty miles of Charlestown. The approach of danger led to the immediate action of the people. The assembly, then in session, dissolved, after having conferred upon John Rutledge, the powers, with some limitation, of the dictator in ancient republics. He

was commissioned to see that the "republic sustained no harm." With these powers, he issued a proclamation commanding the militia to repair to the garrison; but this proclamation produced very little effect. The people of the country were unwilling to leave their plantations unprotected, and have always been particularly averse to being cooped up in a besieged town. Had Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief of the invading army, at once advanced against the city, it must have fallen in a few days. But that cautious commander, a good soldier, but one not formed for brilliant or prompt achievements, adopted the slow mode of regular investiture. At Wappoo, on James island, he formed a depot and built fortifications. More than a month elapsed after his first landing, before he crossed Ashley river. On the first of April he broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards, and at successive periods erected five batteries on Charlestown neck. His ships of war about the same time crossed the bar, and passing Fort Moultrie with a fair wind, avoided a second regular combat with that fortress. They were not, however, suffered to pass without a heavy penalty. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded at the fort, kept up a brisk and severe fire upon them, and did great execution. The ships generally sustained considerable damage. Twenty-seven seamen were killed or wounded. The fore-top-mast of the Richmond was shot away, and the Acetus ran aground near Hadrell's point, and was destroyed by her crew, under a heavy fire from two field pieces commanded by colonel Gadsden. The crew escaped in boats. The royal fleet came to anchor within long shot of the town batteries.

Fort Moultrie, being now of less use than the men who manned it, they were in great part withdrawn, and it soon fell into the hands of the enemy. Colonel Pinckney's force, together with that which had served to man the small fleet of the Americans, was transferred to the city, where they helped to swell the inconsiderable numbers of the garrison. This force at no time amounted to four thousand men; they were required to defend an extent of works which could not be well manned by less than ten thousand; yet, even for this small army, a sufficient quantity of provisions had not been furnished, and before the siege was over, the citizens were suffering from starvation.

But the garrison, though feeble, was neither idle nor dispirited. The field works which had been thrown up against the invasion of Prevost, were strengthened and extended. Lines of defence, and redoubts, were stretched across Charlestown neck, from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the lines was a strong abbatis, and a wet ditch picketted on the nearest side. Deep holes were dug, at short distances, between the lines and the abbatis. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in its whole extent. In the centre was a strong citadel. On the sides of the town, and wherever the enemy could effect a landing, works were thrown up. The continentals, with the Charlestown artillery, manned the lines in front of the foe on the neck. The works on South Bay and other parts of the town, which were less exposed, were defended by the militia.

The marine force of the Charlestonians had been increased by converting several schooners into gallies, and by two armed ships which had been purchased from the French. The inferior numbers of the garrison forbade any serious attempts to oppose the descent of the British upon the main, but did not prevent several little affairs, in which both officers and men exhibited no less spirit than good conduct. In one of these, a corps of light infantry, commanded by lieutenant colonel John Laurens, encountered the advance guard of the British in a skirmish of particular severity. Though the lines of Charlestown were field works only, Sir Henry Clinton made his advances with great caution. At the completion of his first parallel, the town was summoned to surrender. Its defiance was the signal for the batteries on both sides to open, which they did with great animation on the 12th of April.

The fire of the besiegers soon showed itself to be far superior to that of the besieged. The former had the advantage of twenty-one mortars and royals,—the latter possessed but two; and their lines soon began to crumble under the weighty cannonade maintained against them. The British lines of approach continued to advance, and the second parallel was completed by the 20th, at the distance of three hundred yards from the besieged. The Americans soon perceived the hopelessness of their situation. Councils of war were called, and terms of capitulation offered to the besiegers, which were instantly rejected and the conflict was resumed. The weakness of the garrison prevented any sallies. The only one made during the siege, took place soon after the rejection



of these offers. Lieutenant colonel Henderson led out two hundred men, attacked the advanced flanking party of the enemy, killed several and brought in eleven prisoners. In this affair, captain Moultrie, of the South Carolina line, was among the slain. On the 26th of April, a plan of retreat by night, was proposed in council, but rejected as impracticable. On the 6th of May, Clinton renewed his former terms for the surrender of the garrison. At this time the flesh provisions of the city were not sufficient for a week's rations. There was no prospect either of supplies or re-inforcements. The engineers admitted that the lines could not be maintained ten days longer, and might be carried by assault in ten minutes. General Lincoln was disposed to accept Clinton's offer, but he was opposed by the citizens, who were required by Clinton to be considered prisoners on parole. To their suggestion of other terms, they received for answer that hostilities should be renewed at 8 o'clock. When that hour arrived, the garrison looked for the most vigorous assault, and prepared, with a melancholy defiance, to meet the assailants at their ruined bulwarks. But an hour elapsed without a gun being fired. Both armies seemed to dread the consequences of an assault, and to wish for a continuance of the truce. At nine in the evening, the batteries of the garrison were re-opened, and being answered by those of the British, the fight was resumed with more vigor and execution than had been displayed at any time from the beginning of the siege. Ships and gallies, the forts on James and John's islands, on Wappoo, and the main army on the neck, united in one voluminous discharge of iron upon the devoted gar-

rison. Shells and carcasses were thrown incessantly into all parts of the town, and from all the points around it, covered by the cannon of the assailants. The city was on fire in several places; and, by this time, the third parallel of the enemy being completed, the rifles of the Hessian jagers were fired at so small a distance, and with so much effect, that the defenders could no longer show themselves above the lines with safety.

On the 11th the British crossed the wet ditch by sap, and advanced within twenty-five yards of the besieged. All farther defence was hopeless, and Lincoln found himself obliged to capitulate. He had maintained his post with honor, but unsuccessfully. For three months, with less than four thousand ill fed, ill clothed, and unpractised militia, he had baffled more than ten thousand of the best troops in the British service.

## CHAPTER XVI.

The ill success of this first attempt, in the American war, to defend a city, approves of the general policy of Washington on this subject. The sterner wisdom, by which the city should have been sacrificed to the preservation of the army, would have produced far less evil to the state. The conquest of the interior rapidly followed the loss of the city. The troops, which might have successfully baffled the march of the invader through the forests, were in his power; and his progress, for awhile, was almost entirely uninterrupted through the country. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, of the British army, a soldier more remarkable for the rapidity of his movements than for his talents, and more notorious for the sanguinary warfare which he pursued in Carolina than for any other better qualities, commenced a career of victory, as a cavalry leader, soon after the landing of the enemy, which was continued for a long period after, with little interruption. While Clinton was pressing the siege of the city, he achieved sundry small but complete successes, that deprived the garrison of most of those advantages which necessarily must have resulted from their keeping a body of troops in the field. On the 18th of March, 1780, he surprised a party of eighty militia men, at the Salkehatchie bridge, many of whom were slain and wounded, and the rest dispersed. He was equally successful, a few days after, against a second party, which he surprised near

Ponpon. On the 27th, he encountered lieutenant-colonel Washington, at the head of a regular corps of horse, between the Ashley river ferry, and Rantowle's bridge on the Stono. The advantage lay with the Americans. The cavalry of the British legion was driven back, and lost seven persons ; but, wanting infantry, Washington did not venture to pursue. At the beginning of the siege, general Lincoln ordered the regular cavalry, three hundred in number, to keep the field, and the country militia were required to support them as infantry. The militia, on various pretences, refused to attach themselves to the cavalry ; and this important body of horse was surprised at Monk's Corner, by a superior force under lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Webster. About twenty-five of the Americans were killed and taken. The fugitives found shelter in the neighboring swamps, from whence they made their way across the Santee. Under the conduct of captain White, they recrossed the Santee a few weeks after this event, captured a small British party, and carried them to Lenud's ferry. They were followed closely by Tarleton, with a superior force, and charged before they could get over the ferry. Retreat was impracticable, and resistance proved unavailing. A total rout ensued. A party of the American force, under major Call, cut their way through the British, and escaped. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with another party, saved themselves by swimming the Santee. Thirty were killed, wounded, or taken ; the remainder found refuge in the swamps.

These repeated disasters were not the only consequences arising from the fall of Charlestown. That event was followed by a train of circumstances, which, while they



disgraced the British soldiery, exhausted the spirits and resources of the country. The invasion of Prevost, recorded in a previous chapter, had been followed by scenes of devastation, and acts of pillage, which would have shamed a Tartar banditti. But these acts were ascribed to the Tories and Indians in his retinue. The invasion of Charlestown was notorious from like causes ; but the loyalists and Indians were no longer obnoxious to the charge. The royal troops were the robbers, and their commanders openly shared in the proceeds of the plunder. Thousands of slaves were shipped to a market in the West Indies. Mercantile stores, gold and silver plate, indigo, the produce of the country, became equally convertible to the purposes of these wholesale plunderers, with whom nothing went amiss. They plundered by system, forming a general stock, and designating commissaries of captures. Spoil, collected in this way, was sold for the benefit of the royal army ; and some idea of the quantity brought to market, may be formed, from the fact, that though prices must have been necessarily low in so small a community, yet the division of a major-general was more than four thousand guineas. Apart from what was sold in Carolina, several vessels were sent abroad for a market, laden with the rich spoils taken from the inhabitants.

The capital having surrendered, the next object of the British was to secure the general submission of the state. To this end, the victors marched with a large body of troops over the Santee, towards the populous settlements of North Carolina, and planted garrisons at prominent points of the country, during their progress. Their advance

caused the retreat of several small bodies of Americans, that had approached with the view to the relief of Charlestown. One of these, commanded by colonel Buford, consisting of three or four hundred men, was pursued by Tarleton, with a force about double that number. Tarleton came upon Buford near the Waxsaws. A battle ensued, in which Buford was defeated. The cry of his troops for quarter, produced no effect upon the assailants. The battle ended in a massacre, in which, according to Tarleton's own account of the bloody business, five in six of the whole body of the Americans, were either killed or so badly mangled, as to be incapable of removal from the field of battle.

To the errors of Buford, may be ascribed the defeat of his party; but the effect of this wanton massacre was beneficial to the country. The Americans were taught to expect no indulgence from their foes. "Tarleton's quarter," became proverbial, and a spirit of revenge in all subsequent battles, gave a keener edge to the military resentments of the people.

The British commander-in-chief followed up these severe and sanguinary lessons, by proclamations which denounced vengeance against all who still continued in arms; while offering "to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they had enjoyed under the British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures." Suffering from the sword, their armies overthrown, the state every where in the hands of the foe, the people listened to these specious offers, and abandon-

ed, for a few weeks, every hope of successful resistance. From several parts of the state, the people gave in their adhesion to the royal authority, and believing his conquests to be complete, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from Charlestown to New York, leaving to lord Cornwallis the chief command of the southern department.

The general submission of the inhabitants, was followed by a temporary calm. The British believed the state to be thoroughly conquered. With this conviction, they proposed to extend their arms to the conquest of the neighboring states ; and their own force of five thousand men being inadequate to this object, they conceived a plan to carry out their operations, which had the effect of undoing much which had been done by their arms. They summoned the inhabitants to repair to the British standard. Paroles given to citizens, not actually taken in Charlestown, were declared null and void, and the holders of them were called upon to act the part of British subjects, by appearing in arms at a certain time, under pain of being treated as rebels to his majesty's government. From this moment, the British popularity and power began to decline ; and the seeming submission which followed this command, was the disguise assumed by disaffection, under the pressure of necessity. The mask was thrown aside by the greater number at the first sound of the signal trumpet which rallied the patriots under the banner of Gates.

One small body of Carolinians which retreated before the British as they advanced into the upper country, was conducted by colonel Sumter, a gentleman who had formerly commanded one of the continental regiments, and

who had already distinguished himself by his fearless valor, great military talents, and unbending patriotism. Known to the British by these qualities, they had wreaked their fury upon his dwelling, which they had burned to the ground with all its contents, after expelling his wife and family from it. A sense of personal injury was superadded to that which roused his hostility in behalf of his country; and, rallying his little force, which he strengthened by volunteers from North Carolina, he returned to his own state at the very moment when the cause of its liberty seemed most hopeless to the inhabitants. The attitude of this forlorn few, was no less melancholy than gallant. The British were every where triumphant,—the Americans desponding,—the state without any domestic government, and utterly unable to furnish supplies to this little band, whether of arms, clothing, or provisions. Never did patriotism take the field with so few encouragements or so many difficulties. The iron tools of the neighboring farms—the ploughshare and the saw—were worked up into rude weapons of war by ordinary blacksmiths. They supplied themselves, in part, with bullets, by melting the pewter which was given them by private housekeepers. Sometimes they came into battle with less than three rounds to a man; and one half were obliged to keep at a distance, until supplied, by the fall of comrades or enemies, with the arms which might enable them to engage in the conflict. When victorious, they relied upon the dead for the ammunition for their next campaign. The readiness with which these brave men resorted to the field under such circumstances, was the sufficient guaranty for their ultimate success.



The British commander was suddenly aroused to fury by the tidings of this new champion in the field which he had so lately overrun. At a moment when Carolina lay, as he thought, lifeless and nerveless beneath his feet, her sword was waving in triumph above the heads of his warriors. The little force led by Sumter, consisting of less than one hundred and fifty men, soon distinguished themselves by the defeat of a large detachment of British and tories, under the command of colonel Ferguson of the former, and captain Huck of the latter. The affair took place on the 12th of July, 1780, at Williams' plantation, in the upper part of the state. The British were posted at disadvantage in a lane, both ends of which were entered at the same time by the Carolinians. Ferguson and Huck were both killed, and their men completely routed and dispersed. At the fortunate moment in which the attack was made, a number of prisoners were on their knees, vainly soliciting mercy for themselves and families, at the hands of the British officers. Huck had become notorious for his cruel atrocities, in the very performance of which, the retributive providence decreed that he should be slain. The success of Sumter rallied around him the people of the neighborhood, and his little force soon amounted to six hundred men. At the head of this force, on the 30th of the same month, he made a spirited but unsuccessful attack on the British post at Rocky Mount. Baffled in this attempt, he passed without delay to the attack of another post at the Hanging Rock, in which a large force of regulars and tories were stationed. His assault was equally daring and successful. The Prince of Wales' regiment was annihilated at a blow; and the

tories, under colonel Brian of North Carolina, after suffering severely, were totally routed and dispersed.

These successes of Sumter, equally spirited and well-conducted, tended greatly to encourage the Carolinians, and abate the panic which had been occasioned by the fall of their chief city. Little partisan squads rose in arms in various quarters, falling upon the British detachments whenever they exposed themselves; but much more frequently addressing themselves to the conflict with those of their own countrymen who had joined the foe, and were prosecuting the war with a degree of ferocity that seemed meant to obscure even the bloody massacres of Tarleton. These bands chose their own leaders, and acted from their own impulses. Colonel Williams, of the district of Ninety Six, at the head of one of these parties, was particularly active in this guerilla warfare. A month after the victory of Sumter over Ferguson and Huck, he attacked a like body of the enemy, consisting of British and loyalists, under colonel Innis, at Musgrave's mills, on the Enoree. These he defeated with loss, after a severe conflict. Like conflicts, and with the like results, became frequent throughout the state, and the sudden and almost simultaneous appearance of Marion and Sumter on the horizon of battle, and the advance of a continental army, with the total overthrow of Burgoyne at Saratoga, dissipated all the fairy visions of British conquest in South Carolina, re-inspired the desponding citizens, and compelled Cornwallis again to take the field.

The continentals sent from the northward, consisted of fourteen hundred men, and were marched to the south under the baron DeKalb, a German officer, whose military

talents and experience secured him the command of a major-general in the army of the United States. DeKalb had pushed his march to the south by the direct route from Petersburg in Virginia, for Camden in South Carolina. On the 6th of July he reached Deep river, and halted at Cox's mills to collect provisions, and determine upon his future course. Here, he was overtaken, and superseded in command, by general Gates. The arrival of Gates increased the activity of this little army, without improving its condition. Gates, unhappily, was one of those men whom success intoxicates and destroys. He had no sooner arrived than he issued orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for marching, and on the 27th, the army was under march over a barren country to Monk's ferry, in direct opposition to the counsel of all his officers.

The troops were without provisions and clothes, many without arms, and suffering from fatigue, from a protracted march, at every step of which they had been compelled to undergo these severe privations. Still, his army was increased in its progress, by accessions, from Virginia and the Carolinas, of lean detachments; and, with a little delay to permit of the coming in of the militia, and the procuring of arms and supplies, it might have been swollen to a very respectable force of four or five thousand men. Sanguine of success, and pressing on with the despatch which was all that this unfortunate general seemed to think necessary to secure it, he reached Clermont, where he encamped on the 13th of August. Here he was informed, by colonel Sumter, of the advance of a considerable convoy of British wagons on the route from M'Cord's ferry to

Camden; and solicited by that brave partisan for a small reinforcement to enable him to capture them. Four hundred men were detached on this service; while general Gates put the army under marching orders to Camden, where the British maintained a strong post under the command of lord Rawdon. On the night of the 15th, at ten o'clock, the Americans moved from Rugely's mills, little dreaming of the terrible fate which awaited them.

Gates was in ignorance of several facts which he might have known, but did not know, and which it was of infinite importance to his objects that he should have known. He was ignorant that, by forced marches, lord Cornwallis had reached Camden from Charlestown, bringing with him a considerable detachment. With a picked force of more than two thousand men, that enterprising commander took up his line of march from Camden to meet his enemy, at the very hour when Gates left Clermont. The latter had given himself little time to learn any thing. He committed a variety of blunders. He undervalued cavalry, one of the most important portions of every army, and one particularly important in a level country like that through which he had to march.

He hurried his men when fatigued, without necessity, and commenced a night movement with untried militia, in the face of an enemy. In this march he showed none of that vigilance upon which the success of all military enterprises must mainly depend. Lord Cornwallis, on the contrary, appears to have been accurately informed of every particular in relation to his enemy, which it was important for him to know. It is even said that an emissary of the British commander succeeded in passing himself upon



Gates as a fugitive from Camden, and having won his confidence, made his escape to his British employer.

In a fatal state of security, the result of his own self delusion, the commander of the American army hurried his troops forward blindly to their doom. The armies felt each other at midnight. The fire of the British advance, first announced to the Americans the presence of their foes. The cavalry of Armand's legion wheeled and fled at the first discharge, but the infantry, under colonel Porterfield, which was advancing in files on the right of the road, coolly returned the fire, and the march of the enemy was checked. As if by tacit consent, the respective armies recoiled, and prepared to await the daylight for the conclusion of the strife. The Americans were quickly formed for battle. The first Maryland division, including the Delawares under DeKalb, was posted on the right; the Virginia militia, under Stevens, on the left; the North Carolinians, under Caswell, held the centre; the artillery in battery upon the road. Both wings rested on morasses, and the second Maryland brigade was posted a few hundred yards in the rear of the first, to act as the reserve. The British were formed in a single line, with the wings covered and supported by bodies in reserve.

The battle began with the dawn of day. It was brought on by the advance of the American left on the British right, which had the appearance of being in some confusion. The reception which the Virginians met proved this to have been an error; they were repulsed, and, the British, charging at this moment with a cheer, fled in the utmost confusion, many of them without even

discharging their pieces. This unworthy example was followed by the North Carolina militia, with the exception of a single corps under major Dixon. The cavalry of Armand, which had behaved with so little resolution in the encounter of the night, increased the panic by a second and irretrievable flight; and the continentals stood alone, abandoned by the militia, and maintaining their ground against the entire force of the British army. The artillery was lost; the cavalry—a miserable apology for a legion, made up of the worthless outcasts of foreign service—were swallowed up in the woods—and the regular infantry, reduced to a mere point in the field, and numbering but nine hundred men, were now compelled to bear the undivided pressure of two thousand men. But they resisted this pressure nobly, and their bayonets locking with those of the foe, bore them back upon the field in many places, yielding them prisoners from the very heart of the British line. This triumph was momentary only—these gallant men were unsupported. DeKalb had already fallen under eleven wounds, Gates had fled or was borne from the field by the flying militia; and Cornwallis, observing that there was no cavalry opposed to him, poured in his dragoons, now returning from pursuit of the fugitives, and ended the contest. Never did men behave better than the continentals; but they were now compelled to fly. The only chance that remained to avoid a surrender on the field, and escape from the sabres of the dragoons, in whom the British were very strong, was to break away for the morass in their rear, into which they could not be pursued by cavalry. This was done, and by this measure, alone, did any part of this

devoted corps find safety. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, upwards of two hundred wagons, and all their baggage. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was about three hundred. Though the royal army fought with great bravery, they must have been beaten, but for the flight of the militia. The terrible conflict which followed with the continentals, proves what must have been the event, had the former behaved like men.

## CHAPTER XVII.

The militia composed so large a part of general Gates' army, that he lost all hopes of victory on seeing them leave the field. His flight was thence to Clermont and Charlotte, where he hoped to rally the fugitives. It was in the midst of the hurry of flight, that he was overtaken by a courier, who brought him the consoling intelligence of the complete success of Sumter in his enterprise. He had succeeded in his attempt against Carey's fort, on the Wateree, had captured the garrison, and intercepted the escort with the wagons and stores.

On hearing of the defeat of Gates, Sumter began his retreat up the south side of the Wateree. He was pursued by Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of infantry.

The movements of Sumter were necessarily and greatly impeded by his captives. He had with him forty baggage wagons, filled with booty of the very kind that the Americans were most in need of. He was encumbered also by three hundred prisoners. Tarleton, pursuing with his usual celerity, came suddenly upon the camp of the Americans, near Fishing Creek, and a complete surprise was effected. The British cavalry burst upon them when there was not a man standing to his arms, and threw themselves between the men and the parade where their muskets were stacked. The videttes were probably sleeping on their posts, seduced into a false security by the belief that the



foe was at a distance. Not a drum was beat to arms, and no alarm given which could apprize the Americans of the approach of danger. The rout was total. A few of the regulars maintained a fire from behind the wagons for a while, in hopes of rallying the militia, but without success. Their opposition only served to infuriate the dragoons. The carnage was dreadful, and the aggregate loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was very little short of that sustained by Gates in his defeat of the 16th.

Sumter had the good fortune to escape; but very few of his officers or men got off. Of the prisoners taken in these two battles by the British, several were selected, bound with cords and carried to Camden, where they were hung without trial, as rebels, under the express order of lord Cornwallis. Nor was this the only measure of severity adopted by the invaders. In almost every section of the state, their progress was marked with blood, and with other deeds of equal atrocity. Many of the militia were executed on various and worthless pretexts, and most frequently without even the form of trial. Private citizens were made close prisoners on board of prison ships, where they perished of foul diseases and without attendance. From Charlestown alone, after the defeat of Gates, sixty of the principal inhabitants were transported to St. Augustine, where they were subjected equally to bondage and every form of indignity. The determination of the British commander, seemed to be, to annihilate the spirit of independence by trampling upon the persons of its best asserters. This was a short sighted policy. True manhood is never more resolute than when it feels itself wronged, and the Carolinians were never

more determined for their liberties than in the moment of their greatest denial.

General Gates, after several ineffectual attempts to rally his men, finally retired to Hillsborough, in North Carolina, to solicit the support of the state legislature, then in session. Here, upon bringing together the remnant of his little army, it was found to number little more than one thousand men. In North Carolina, after the dispersion of Sumter's command, there did not remain a man in arms, except a small band embodied by Marion. This able partisan maintained his ground below and along the Santee river, and managed, among the defiles and swamps of that region, to elude all the activity of his enemies. His force had been collected chiefly among his own neighbors, were practised in the swamps, and familiar with the country. Like Sumter, utterly unfurnished with the means of war at first, he procured them by similar means. He took possession of the saws from the mills, and converted them into sabres. So much was he distressed for ammunition, that he has engaged in battle when he had not three rounds of powder to each man of his party. At other times, without any, his men have been brought in sight of the foe simply that their numbers might be displayed. For weeks his force did not exceed seventy-five; sometimes they were reduced to one third that number, all volunteers from the militia. Yet, with this inconsiderable band, he maintained his ground, secure amidst hundreds of tory enemies, who hung around his footsteps with all that watchful hostility which the peculiar animosities of civil warfare is so likely to sharpen into personal hatred. Various were the

means employed to draw off or drive away his followers. The houses on the banks of the Pedee, Lynch's Creek, and Black river, from whence they were chiefly taken, were destroyed by fire, the plantations devastated, and the negroes carried away. But the effect of this wantonness was far other than had been intended. Revenge and despair confirmed the patriotism of these ruined men, and strengthened their resolution; and the indiscriminate fury of the foe, only served equally to increase their numbers and their zeal. For months, their only shelter was the green wood and the swamp,—their only cover the broad forest and the arch of heaven. Hardened by exposure, and stimulated by the strongest motives of patriotism and feeling, they sallied forth from these hiding places when their presence was least expected; and the first tidings of their approach were conveyed in the flashing sabre and the whizzing shot.

With a policy that nothing could distract, a caution that no artifice could mislead, Marion led his followers from thicket to thicket in safety, and was never more perfectly secure than when he was in the neighborhood of his foe. He hung upon his flanks on the march, he skirted his camp in the darkness of the night, he lay in wait for his foraging parties, he shot down his sentries, and, flying or advancing, he never failed to harass the invader, and extort from him a bloody toll at every passage through swamp, thicket or river, which his smaller parties made. In this sort of warfare—which is peculiarly adapted to the peculiarities of the country in Carolina, and consequently to the genius of her people—he contrived almost to break up the British communication, by one of

the most eligible routes, between the seaboard and the interior ; and a masterly enterprise, marked with the boldness and intelligence that distinguished all his movements, drew on him the anxious attention of his enemy, and made it necessary for Cornwallis to dislodge him. Hearing that a body of prisoners taken at the defeat of Gates, about one hundred and fifty in number, were under march to Charlestown, under a strong escort, he determined upon their rescue. Placing his mounted militia in ambush, in one of the swamps that skirt the wood from Nelson's Ferry to Monk's Corner, he darted upon the escort, and succeeded in taking the whole party captive. Having put the arms of the British into the hands of the rescued Americans, he hurried across the Santee, and did not pause until his prisoners were safely disposed of within the limits of North Carolina. He was far upon his way beyond the arm of danger, before the parties detached by Cornwallis to drive him from his covert, had reached the scene of his enterprise.

The temporary departure of Marion, left South Carolina almost wholly abandoned to the enemy ; but the fruits of his daring and success were yet to be seen. Opposition to the British was never wholly extinct in the state, even when it may have most appeared so ; and soon after the defeat of Sumter on the 18th of August, he began to recruit his force from among the people of York district—a section of the state which had never made any concessions to the invader. Major Davie, another enterprising officer, had equipped, as dragoons, some fifty or sixty men in the same neighborhood ; and these two bands were still in arms, though quiet, and only waiting for the occasion



which was to bring them into renewed activity. It is probable that the knowledge of the existence of these parties, drew the attention of the British commander to this part of the country. Colonel Ferguson, a brave and efficient leader of the seventy-first British regiment, appeared among these brave borderers with a strong and disorderly force, consisting of loyalists and British, nearly fifteen hundred in number. His march through the country was distinguished by every sort of atrocity and violence. The lively representations of those who had suffered at the hands of these marauders, awakened the mountaineers to a sense of their own danger. Hitherto, they had only heard of war at a distance ; and, in the peaceable possession of that independence for which their countrymen along the seaboard had been contending, they had probably been rather more indifferent to the issue than their own interests and sympathies could well have justified. The approach of Ferguson aroused them from their apathy, and they determined to embody themselves for their own defence. Being all mounted men, and unincumbered with baggage, their movements were prompt and rapid. Each man set forth with his blanket and rifle, in the manner of a hunter, and as if in pursuit only of the wild beasts of the forest. The earth was his couch at night, and the skies his covering. The running stream quenched his thirst, and the wild game of the woods, or the cattle which he drove before him, supplied him with food. They rendezvoused at length among the passes of the mountains.

Nine hundred picked riflemen overtook the British commander on the 7th of October, 1780. His encamp-

ment was made upon the eminence of a circular base, called King's Mountain, situated on the confines of South and North Carolina. The Americans were commanded by colonel Arthur Campbell, but were separated into four divisions, each under the command of its own captain. The colonels under Campbell, were Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and Williams. These several divisions, by arrangement, ascended different sides of the mountain, at the same time, to the attack. The party led by Cleveland first encountered the pickets of the royal army. On this occasion the gallant mountaineer addressed his troops in the simplest but most exciting language of patriotic valor.

"My brave fellows," he said, "we have beaten the tories already, and we can beat them again. They are all cowards;—if they were not, they would support the independence of their country. When engaged with them, you will want no word of command from me. I will show you how to fight by my example. I can do no more. Every man must be his own officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as fast as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can. When you can do no better, run; but do not run quite off. Get behind trees and retréat. If repulsed, let us return and renew the fight. We may have better luck the second time than the first. If any of you are afraid, let them retire, and I beg they may take themselves off at once."

This was a good speech, which his men could understand. The effect of it was such as every commander must desire. The battle began. The picket soon gave way and was forced up the mountain to the main body. Here the pursuers were met by Ferguson. They recoil-

ed before the charge of the British bayonet, to which they could oppose nothing but the American rifle. They fled down the hill ; but, obeying the directions of their commander, they availed themselves of every shelter, to stop, reload, and throw in their fire. They were soon relieved by the appearance of the party under Shelby, who, by this time, had made the circuit of the mountain. Ferguson was compelled to turn and encounter a new foe. The fresh party, under Shelby, poured in a well directed fire ; but sunk back, like that of Cleveland, under the charge of the British. The plans of the mountaineers, though simple, were singularly effective, and the party of Shelby was relieved by the approach of another band, whose unerring rifles compelled the British commander once more to change his front. While busy with these, a fourth came upon the ground. As often as one of the American divisions was driven down the mountain, another rose in the rear or on the flank of the enemy. Ferguson's valor was unavailing. The mountain was encircled by foes as bold and deliberate, as they were prompt, active and skillful. His men were falling around him on every side ; the success of his bayonets gave him barren ground, which he could only for a moment retain. Still he refused to surrender. The conflict was ended only by his fall. The second in command sued for quarters. The havoc had been terrible on the side of the British. Thirteen hundred men were killed, wounded, and prisoners. But two hundred escaped. Fifteen hundred stand of arms fell into the hands of the Americans. They lost but few men, but among these was the brave colonel Williams. The bloody conflict was marked by

a crowning sacrifice of vengeance. Ten of the captives were hung by the victors. These were men who had been guilty of the most monstrous crimes, for which their lives had long been forfeit. They were also required to expiate for the murders which Cornwallis had committed at Camden, Ninety-Six and Augusta. The deed was justified by that code which requires eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

The defeat and death of Ferguson, and the overthrow of a force so formidable as that which he led, re-inspired the Americans. It also served to baffle the plans of lord Cornwallis; to whom it gave such serious alarm that he retreated from Charlotte, to which place he had pursued the fugitive army of Gates, and fixed himself at Winnsborough. The boldness of the Americans increased daily. The panic which followed the defeat of the continentals began to dissipate. Small bodies of troops, under favorite leaders, began to show themselves even in the neighborhood of Cornwallis' encampment; cutting off his foragers and intercepting his convoys. The sharp shooters of the Carolinas penetrated his very lines, and under the shelter of shrub, tree and hillock, picked off his sentries. Such was their audacity, that, on his march from Charlotte to Winnsborough, single riflemen often rode up within gunshot of his army, singled out their victims, and, having discharged their pieces, rode off in safety. Andrew Jackson, then a boy but fourteen years old, took the field on this occasion. The approach of Ferguson and Cornwallis summoned all classes to the field: The old sire, better fitted to grasp the crutch than the brand, as well as the boy whose sinews had not yet hardened into manhood; and, long after the storm of battle had subsided on the plains of Carolina, the boy of the Waxsaws still remembered its fury, while grappling with the same ene-

my on the field of New Orleans. Little was it imagined that the obscure stripling who was sabred by a British officer for refusing to clean his boots, should be honored, thirty-five years after, with the greatest triumph ever obtained in America over a British army.

The retreat of Cornwallis still farther encouraged the Americans, who began to repair in considerable numbers to the camps of their respective commanders. An incursion of colonel Washington, into South Carolina, was attended with singular good fortune. On the 4th of December, 1780, he appeared before the British post near Camden, which was held by one colonel Rugely. It was a stockade, but garrisoned by an hundred men. Washington was without artillery; but a pine log, which was ingeniously hewn and arranged so as to resemble a field piece, enforced, to the commander of the post, the propriety of surrendering to the first summons of the American colonel. This harmless piece of timber, elevated a few feet from the earth, was invested by the apprehension of the garrison with such formidable power, that they were exceedingly glad to find a prompt acceptance of their submission. Colonel Rugely's hope of becoming a brigadier was forever cut off by his too ready recognition of this new instrument of warfare.

About this time, general Greene took command of the southern army. He found his troops few in number, oppressed with severe and active duties, without tents or blankets, and but imperfectly supplied with clothing. The British army in Carolina numbered five thousand men, exclusive of loyalists, and were strongly stationed so as to cover the most important routes in the state, and to over-

awe the most populous settlements. The garrison at Winnsborough completed a chain of posts which the enemy had established, from Georgetown to Augusta, in a circle, the centre of which, equi-distant from Charlestown and Savannah, would have been Beaufort, in South Carolina. These posts consisted of Georgetown, Camden, Winnsborough, Ninety-Six and Augusta. Within this circle was another chain of posts, consisting of Fort Watson on the road to Camden, Motte's House, and Granby on the Congaree. Dorchester, Orangeburg, Monk's Corner, and other places, were fortified as posts of rest, deposite, and communication. These stations were all judiciously chosen, as well for procuring subsistence as for covering the country.

The American army had been under march for Salisbury before the arrival of Greene. A command under colonel Morgan had penetrated South Carolina, pressing forward towards Camden, and occupying the very ground which had witnessed the defeat of Gates. The exploit of Marion in rescuing the American prisoners and capturing the British guards, made him particularly obnoxious to the British commander. Tarleton's success against Sumter, and the promptness and activity of his movements, pointed him out to Cornwallis as the proper officer to ferret out and destroy this wary partisan. But the British officer manœuvred in vain. Marion baffled and eluded him at all points, and his adversary was compelled to leave him the undisputed master of the whole ground, while he turned his arms once more against Sumter, whose incursions had again become troublesome. This daring captain, having recruited his command to an

imposing force, advanced within twenty-eight miles of the British camp at Winnsborough. This audacity suggested to Cornwallis a plan of surprising him in his encampment. Such importance was attached to securing his individual person, that an officer, with five dragoons, had it specially in charge to force their way to his tent, and take him, dead or alive. "The Game Cock," as Sumter was called by the Carolinians, was, in the language of Cornwallis, the greatest trouble which the British had encountered in the country. The conduct of this enterprise was entrusted to a major Wemyss, who approached the encampment of the American general with considerable promptitude and caution. Fortunately, Sumter had given more than usual strength to his advanced guard. His army had lain so long in their position, that he naturally expected attack. Colonel Taylor, by whom the advance guard was commanded, had taken particular precautions. Fires had been lighted in front of his line, and his men were ordered, in case of alarm, to form so far in the rear of the fires, as to be concealed, while the approaching enemy would be conspicuous in their light. The videttes and pickets did their duty, and the guard was ready to receive the attack. A murderous fire prostrated twenty-three of the British as they reached the fires. The rest recoiled, then retreated for a hundred yards before they rallied. They were brought again steadily to the attack, and a close conflict followed; but the well directed fire of the Americans completed what their advance guard had so well begun. The British were driven from the field, and found safety only in the darkness of the night. Wemyss fell into the hands of



the Americans, being wounded through both thighs, and deserted by his men in the precipitation of their flight.

Sumter, after this affair, left his position, and was pursued by Tarleton with the headlong haste which marked all the movements of that warrior. He came up with the American general at Blackstock's, on the 20th of November. Blackstock's house, on the southwest bank of Tiger river, afforded a favorable position for the employment of a small force in battle. Sumter stationed his troops so as to avail himself of all its advantages. Not doubting that the whole force of the British was upon him, he resolved to maintain his ground during the day, and under cover of the night escape across the river. Tarleton's command consisted of his legion, a battalion of the 71st regiment, a detachment of the 63rd, and a lieutenant's command of the royal artillery, with one field piece. But, of this force, only four hundred mounted men had yet come up with the Americans. As soon as Sumter made this discovery, his plans were changed; and he resolved to commence the attack and cut up his enemy in detail. Tarleton, supposing that he had the game in his own hands, had, immediately on arriving, secured an elevated piece of ground in front of Sumter's position, and, dismounting his men to relieve themselves and horses, prepared to await the arrival of his artillery and infantry. But the assault of Sumter compelled him to take to his arms. The Americans descended from their heights and poured in a well directed fire upon the enemy. They were met by the bayonet, and being armed only with rifles, were compelled to retire. The British advanced, but were met by a reserve of rifles, which

prostrated many and repulsed the rest. Tarleton, as he beheld his danger, commanded a second and desperate charge, directly up the hill; but the Americans stood firm and received him with their rifles, under the united fire of which his men could not be made to stand. Drawing off his whole force, he wheeled upon Sumter's left, where the ground was less precipitous; he was here met by a little corps of Georgians, about 150 in number, who displayed the courage of veterans. But the pressure of Tarleton's whole force was too much for them to contend against. They yielded, after a noble resistance, and gave way; but the timely interposition of the reserve, under colonel Winn, and the fire from a company stationed at the house, determined the issue. Tarleton fled, leaving near two hundred men upon the field of battle. The loss of the Americans was trifling, but their brave commander received a severe wound in the breast, which kept him a length of time from service.

The army of the south, when general Greene entered upon its command, was, in the language of his predecessor, "rather a shadow than a substance." It consisted nominally of less than two thousand men. One thousand of these were militia, and nine hundred continentals. The first measures of Greene were to provide them with arms and clothing, and make such arrangements as would supply their future wants. These were not of easy performance in a country where there was no real money, and nothing in circulation but a miserable paper currency, even then hopelessly irredeemable, and not less a jest with the Americans than a mockery with the British. But, whatever may have been the deficiencies and disad-

vantages of the service, the American general entered upon it with a manly determination to undertake its hardships with patriotic zeal, and to despond in nothing. He advanced towards the head of boat navigation on the Pedee. The country in that neighborhood was fertile, and had not yet been traversed by an army of any magnitude. Here he sat down for a while, in order to recruit and exercise his little force. Here he matured his plans, perfected his intimacy with his officers, and drilled his raw militiamen. From this point he dispatched his engineers to explore the country. The routes in all directions were carefully set down, and with governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, in his camp, he was not suffered to remain in ignorance of any matters which he deemed essential to his contemplated invasion of the state.

While Gates and Greene were busy in the accumulation of an army, it must not be supposed that the little bands under Marion and other partisan commanders, had been inactive. Marion, whose mode of warfare had acquired for him the *nom de guerre* of "the Swamp Fox," was never inactive. Hundreds of little successes, that do not properly belong to the main stream of regular history, yet concurred to render his career memorable, and to influence equally the hopes of his countrymen and the hostility of the enemy. His command was a peculiar one, being chiefly formed from the little and insulated section of country in which he lived. His warriors were his neighbors and friends, and the tie that bound them together, brought into equal activity the duty of the soldier and the affections of the comrade.

“Marion’s brigade,” was the extra military epithet which distinguished his command. It might contain ten men, or five hundred,—it was still “Marion’s brigade”—a membership in which, had a sort of masonic value in the estimation of his followers, which amply compensated for all its privations and fatigues. Constantly active, it would be impossible for the pen of the historian to follow the progress of the little corps. Some of his exploits have been recorded. We can only glance at one or two more, in order to bring up our narration to the period of Greene’s assumption of command over the southern army.

One of the first of his exploits was the surprise of a major Gainey, at the head of a large body of tories which he had collected between Great and Little Pedee. A second party of tories was defeated at Shepherd’s ferry, near Black Mingo swamp. The tories were well posted to receive the attack, and a desperate conflict ensued. The parties were so near each other during the greater part of the conflict, that the wadding of their guns continually struck on each side. Neither party had bayonets, and buckshot was quite as frequently used as ball. This victory increased the “brigade” to nearly four hundred men, with which he marched upon colonel Tynes, who had raised a large force of tories upon Black river. Tynes was surprised, several of his men slain, and his force dispersed, while Marion lost not a man. In all these marches and conflicts, the partisans lived entirely in the swamps, with no shelter but the forest, almost without blankets or clothing, commonly with no food but potatoes, and meat without salt. Marion himself, for a long time, had neither hat nor blanket.



The arrival of Greene abridged the independence of Marion's movements. His brigade constituted a portion of the men of the state, and was necessarily comprised within the command of that general. The activity, courage, and successful conduct of Marion, indicated him to Greene as one well calculated, by his knowledge of the country, for active employment; and colonel Lee being joined to his "brigade," a combined attempt was made to surprise the British post at Georgetown. The town was entered, many were killed and taken, but the garrison remained firm, and the attempt was unsuccessful. The failure is ascribed to several causes; but the alarm of the guides, who missed their way, and thus defeated the plan of co-operation between the several parties, is a sufficient reason. With this affair, which took place on the 25th of January, general Greene opened the campaign of 1781.

This failure was more than compensated by a brilliant event which happened, a few days before, in the western extremity of the state, to which general Greene had detached colonel Morgan with a strong force, with a view to his keeping down and restraining the brutal passions of the loyalists in that quarter. Morgan, shortly after his arrival, sent lieutenant colonel Washington, with a regiment and two hundred horse, to attack a body of tories who had been plundering the whig inhabitants. Washington came up with them near Hammond's store, charged them vigorously and defeated them. General Cunningham, with a detachment of British militia, of one hundred and fifty, was dispersed by a party under cornet Simons, of Washington's command. These and other successes, seriously excited the apprehensions of Corn-

wallis for the safety of the post at Ninety Six; and he ordered Tarleton to throw himself at once across the path of Morgan.

With a force of twelve hundred men—five hundred of whom were the formidable legion which had been carrying terror and conquest through every quarter of the state, for so long a time—Tarleton prepared to obey with his accustomed celerity. That there should be no chance for the escape of his prey, who lay on the west side of Broad river, it was concerted that Cornwallis should advance northwardly as far as King's mountain, that Morgan's retreat might be cut off, and he compelled to fight. That Morgan should himself desire to encounter either of them, the British commanders do not seem to have suspected for a moment. Instead of flying from Tarleton, Morgan advanced to the Pacolet to meet him. The Pacolet is a small river, fordable in many places. On the evening of the 15th, Tarleton put his troops in motion towards the head of the stream, as if with an intention to cross it above the position which Morgan had taken, and thus place his adversary between his own and the main army under Cornwallis, which was only a day's march distant on the left. His stratagem took effect. Morgan made a corresponding movement, while Tarleton, silently decamping in the night, passed the river before daylight, at a crossing place a few miles below. Morgan then retreated precipitately, and before night regained a favorite position on Thicketty creek, where he determined to await the approach of the enemy. Tarleton, supposing that his adversary was resolved on flight, hurriedly resumed the pursuit on the following

morning. About 8 o'clock A. M. he came in sight of the Americans, and, instead of overtaking his adversary in the fatigue and confusion of a flight, he found him drawn up and ready under arms. Morgan's army had rested, breakfasted, and were refreshed. The British, on the other hand, had been five hours that morning on the march; but this difference was deemed unimportant to one who had hitherto known nothing but success. Tarleton, satisfied by the spirit and alacrity of his troops, prepared at once for battle.

Morgan had taken ground on an eminence which ascended gently for about three hundred and fifty yards, and was covered with an open wood. On the crown of this eminence were posted two hundred and ninety Maryland regulars, and in line on their right, two companies of Virginia militia and a company of Georgians—making his rear line consist of four hundred and thirty men. This was commanded by lieutenant colonel Howard. One hundred and fifty yards in advance of the line, the main body of the militia, about three hundred in number, all practiced riflemen, and most of them burning with a keen sense of personal injury, were posted under the command of colonel Pickens. In advance of the first line about one hundred and fifty yards, were placed as many picked riflemen, scattered in loose order along the whole front. Those on the right were commanded by colonel Cunningham, of Georgia; those on the left by major McDowal, of South Carolina. No particular order was given to this desultory body; but they knew the service. "Mark the epaulette men," were the words of counsel which they whispered to one another. In the rear of the se-

cond line the ground descended, and then again arose to a height sufficient to cover a man on horseback. Behind this, the American reserve was posted, consisting of Washington's and McCall's cavalry, one hundred and twenty-five in number. The advanced party were ordered not to deliver their fire until the British were within fifty yards, and, this done, to retire, covering themselves with trees and loading and firing as occasion offered.

When Tarleton beheld his enemy ready to receive him, he advanced to reconnoitre, but was prevented from doing so by the picked riflemen who were scattered along the entire front of the line. On this occasion they gave the cavalry a few discharges, which made them tremble at the deadly aim of the southern rifle. The British were formed when within three hundred yards from the front of Morgan's force, and soon after advanced with a shout, under the cover of their artillery, pouring in an incessant fire of musketry as they came. At the assigned distance the militia delivered their fire with unerring aim, and "here," says colonel Howard, "the battle was gained." The assertion was justified by the spectacle of dead and wounded, commissioned and non-commissioned, who sank down under the deliberate and fatal discharge which first followed the advance of the foe. But this was not enough to repel the enemy under the excitement of battle and the goading of their commanders. The retreat of the militia quickened the advance of the British, who rent the air with shouts, as they fondly believed that the day was already won. But the second line renewed the punishment which had followed from the fire of the first, and at this moment the fearful havoc which the riflemen had



made among the officers, rendered itself apparent in the confusion of the troops. Still they advanced, yet obviously with such hesitation, that Tarleton ordered the 71st regiment into line upon his left. His cavalry at the same time descended upon the Americans' right. Morgan perceived this movement, and the necessity of covering his flank. In this crisis of the battle, Washington encountered the cavalry of Tarleton, in a successful charge—the militia recovered, and forming a new reserve, were ready to obey the command of Morgan, to “give them but one more fire and make the victory secure;”—the bayonets of Howard's continentals were interlocked with those of the foe;—and the day was won. The concerted action of Morgan's whole force at the most important moment, was the certain guaranty of victory. The enemy was within thirty yards, tumultuously shouting and advancing, when the final fire of the Americans was delivered. The survivors of the terrible discharge threw down their weapons, and fell upon their faces. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field pieces and thirty-five baggage wagons, fell into the hands of the victors. The remains of the British cavalry were pursued for several miles by Washington, but the greater part of them escaped. Thus ended the great and well fought battle of the Cowpens.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Never was victory more complete than this. Not a corps of the British retired from the field under command, except the remains of the cavalry who accompanied Tarleton himself. These were pursued by lieutenant colonel Washington with his accustomed rapidity of movement—a rapidity which sometimes involved him in perils, when greater prudence, though less brilliant in its display, might have been better soldiership. Excited by the prospect of capturing the formidable cavalry officer whose successes had hitherto been so uniform, and so productive of disaster to the Carolinas, Washington pressed forward with so much haste as to separate himself from the main body of his command. Tarleton beheld this, and turned upon his pursuer. He was supported by two of his officers, one of whom crossed swords with the pursuing American. The blade of the latter, being of inferior temper, broke in the encounter, and left him at the mercy of the foe. At this moment, when a second blow would have brought him to the ground, a little henchman, not fourteen years old, who was devoted to his master, and carried no other weapon than a pistol at his saddle bow, seasonably rode up and discharged its contents into the shoulder of the Briton. The arm of the assailant fell powerless at his side ; but the other officer occupied his place. His sword was already lifted above the head of Washington, when the blow was broken by the interposi-

tion of the sword of sergeant major Perry. A bullet from the pistol of colonel Tarleton, aimed at Washington, brought the noble steed that bore him to the ground. The fortunate approach of the Americans arrested the farther attempts of the Briton upon their leader. The moment was lost and his flight was resumed. The dragoons never fought well. They had repeatedly hacked to pieces a fugitive or supplicating militia; but neither at Blackstock's, where they encountered Sumter, nor at Cowpens, where they met with Washington, did they maintain the high renown which they had acquired rather from good fortune than desert. The star of Tarleton waned from this moment. His operations grew limited in extent, and small in importance. His defeat on this occasion, with that of Ferguson at King's mountain, were the first links in a grand chain of causes, which drew down ruin on the British interest in South Carolina.

Success did not lull Morgan into security. Not more than twenty-five miles from lord Cornwallis, he naturally conjectured that his lordship would be in motion to cut off his retreat, as soon as the intelligence should reach him of the defeat of Tarleton. He halted no longer on the field of battle than to refresh his men and secure his prisoners, who were five hundred in number, exclusive of the wounded; and moved across Broad river the same evening. His movements were necessarily slow, encumbered as he was with the wounded, the prisoners, and the captured baggage; and he might have been easily overtaken and brought to a halt by a vigorous pursuit of the enemy; but the good fortune which had attended him through the conflict, still clung to his standard. Cornwal-

lis, with a remissness which has been censured by Tarleton, hesitated to decide. In war, the delay of moments is the defeat of hosts. He stopped to destroy his baggage, and make some preparations which could have been reserved for another time, and which consumed two days ; and thus lost a prize, which, had he pursued promptly, he could scarcely have failed to secure. He reached the Great Catawba river just after the American general had passed in safety ; but he no longer possessed the power to follow him. The swollen waters of the stream, which barely suffered the passage of Morgan, rose up, foaming and threatening, in the face of Cornwallis. The Americans exulted in the conviction that a miracle had been performed in their behalf, like that which saved the Hebrews from the pursuit of the Egyptian tyrant. The British commander was not, indeed, swallowed up by the waters ; but they stayed his march—they baffled his pursuit ; and Morgan joined his commander, bringing off in safety, the prisoners and baggage, the whole rich spoils of his valor and good conduct.

As soon as the Catawba was fordable, Cornwallis prepared to cross it, which he did successfully, though resisted by a part of Greene's army under the command of general Davidson. It was a wise resolution on the part of the British general to attempt the passage in the night. A stream five hundred yards wide, foaming among the rocks, and frequently overturning men and horses in its progress, might, in day-light, have discouraged the hearts of his men. Nor would they then have been so safe from the unerring riflemen, who were posted among the trees and bushes which thickly covered the margin



of the stream. A sharp conflict nevertheless followed the attempt, in which many of the enemy, including colonel Hale of the guards, were slain. Cornwallis himself had a horse shot under him, which barely survived to reach the shore when he fell and expired. General Davidson, in an attempt to change his position during the action, in order to occupy the front of the enemy, came between the light of his own fires and the advancing column of the British. A well directed volley from them prostrated him with a number of his men. The militia became dispirited after this disaster, and precipitately retreated. A military race then began, between the respective opponents, in which Cornwallis pursued Greene into Virginia. The British commander, content with this seeming success, and desiring to recruit his force for a more effectual prosecution of his march into Virginia, fell back upon Hillsboro, North Carolina, where he raised the royal standard and summoned the loyalists to rally beneath it. To defeat this object, Greene re-crossed the river Dan, and once more drew the attention of the British upon himself. A detachment of his force, under command of Pickens, fell in with a force of the loyalists led by a colonel Pyles, and cut them to pieces. Another body of Tories, about the same time, were destroyed by the rash and sanguinary Tarleton, by whom they were mistaken for "rebels." These disasters did not come singly, and their accumulation, with other circumstances, began to open the eyes of Cornwallis to his own danger. "He was surrounded,"—in his own language to the British ministry—"by inveterate enemies and timid friends;" and to fight and conquer Greene, became now as much a matter

of necessity as it had before been one of choice. The Americans were gathering strength by daily accessions. The tories were growing cold in a contest, which, however successful at first, had been pregnant with defeats and dangers; and the severe lessons which the British had received at King's Mountain and at Cowpens, had taught them to indulge in gloomy anticipations, which needed but the maturing influence of time for fullest confirmation.

Numberless minor events, small combats, and skillful manœuverings, while they emboldened the Americans and their general, prepared the way for the more important issue which was to follow. The two main armies, after various marchings and counter-marchings, prepared to stake the issue finally on the sword. The scene of action was at Guilford Court House. The battle was fought on the 15th of March, 1781. It was waged with great obstinacy and valor, and the victory remained long in suspense. Discipline, at length, achieved its natural triumph over the irregular force of the Americans. Half of Greene's force were untried militia. But five hundred of his men had ever seen service. The veteran volunteers under Pickens, had been dispatched some time before to South Carolina, where they were imperatively demanded to meet the black brigades which the British were seeking to embody in that quarter; and the regular troops that remained, consisting of the infantry of the legion, a little corps of Delawares, and the 1st regiment of Maryland, formed the only portion of the American army that could be compared with the British. These did not exceed two hundred and eighty-one in number; yet, unassisted, they drove from the field in the first in-

stance, the 33d regiment, three hundred and twenty-two strong, supported by the yagers and light infantry of the guards. The Virginians behaved with no less valor, though with less experience. They maintained a long and arduous conflict with the whole British line, and only sunk at the push of the bayonet, for which they were neither prepared by practice nor the possession of the proper weapons. The victory remained with the enemy; but the advantage with the Americans. The former lost six hundred and thirty-three men, killed, wounded and missing; of these, one colonel and four commissioned officers died on the field; colonel Webster and several others received mortal wounds; General O'Hara's recovery from his wounds was long doubtful; colonel Tarleton, and general Howard, a volunteer, with twenty other commissioned officers, were wounded. The victory must have been with the Americans, but for the unmilitary flight, in the beginning of the action, of the North Carolina militia, and the second regiment of Marylanders. The loss of the Americans was about four hundred. Greene retired over Reedy fork, about three miles from the scene of action; while Cornwallis remained in possession of the ground, but too much crippled to pursue his enemy.

Three days after his victory, his lordship destroyed all his baggage, left his hospital and wounded, and fled towards the sea-coast, leaving the whole of the country behind him in the possession of the Americans. Greene pursued, but without overtaking the British; while Cornwallis, after a brief delay at Wilmington, hurried on to that junction with the British forces in Virginia, under major general Philips, and the traitor Arnold, which

resulted in the siege and surrender of Yorktown, one of the most brilliant events in the progress of the war, and which greatly assisted to decide it.

While these events were in progress in North Carolina, the whigs in South Carolina were every where gathering in arms. The absence of Cornwallis had withdrawn from the state that superior body by which he had held it in subjection. Pickens, with his brigade, was operating between Ninety Six and Augusta; and Lee, with his legion and a part of the second Maryland regiment, was advancing to co-operate with Marion. General Sumter, though not yet fully recovered of his wounds received at Blackstock's, had drawn his men to a head, and had penetrated to the Congaree, which he crossed early in February, and appeared before Fort Granby. Such was the vigor with which he pressed the fort, that his marksmen, mounted upon a temporary structure of rails, had reduced the garrison to the last straits, when they were relieved by the unexpected approach of succor under lord Rawdon, who appeared on the opposite bank of the river. Unable to contend with the superior force of the British, Sumter made a sudden retreat; and two days after, captured an escort of the British regulars going from Charlestown to Camden with stores, in wagons, which yielded a booty equally necessary to both parties. Thirteen of the British were slain, and sixty-six made prisoners; the wagons, containing a profusion of provisions, clothing, arms, and ammunition, fell into his hands. Proceeding with his accustomed rapidity, he swam the Santee river with three hundred men, and appeared next before Fort Watson. From this point he was again driven by Rawdon, who



marched to its relief. He then retired to the swamps on Black river, where he remained, though not inactive, for awhile.

Emerging from this retreat, he was attacked near Camden by major Fraser, at the head of a considerable force of regulars and militia; but the major was defeated after a severe handling, in which twenty of his men were slain. Sumter, after this event, retired to the borders of North Carolina, where he contrived to increase his force to three small regiments of state troops. His return, with that of the continental army, renewed the war in South Carolina with more regularity and vigor.

Marion had been as busy in his fastnesses as his great contemporary Sumter; and while Greene and the continentals gave full employment to the regular British army, his little brigade had met the tories in a spirit not unlike their own. Their savage murders, wanton excesses, and bitter cruelties—their house-breaking and house-burning—their blasphemies, impieties and horrors,—had put them completely out of the pale of military civilization. “No quarter to the tories,” became the cry of the brigade when going into battle; and with this spirit, and guided by the skill and intelligence of their leader, the career of the partisans was as sleepless and rapid as its temper was now unsparing and vindictive. To conquer merely, was not to complete the purpose for which they fought—to destroy, was their object also; and so resolute had they shown themselves, and so active and vigilant, that to root them out was as difficult as it had become desirable. A new and well concerted attempt to annihilate this body, was arranged between colonels Watson and

Doyle. The former was to move down from Camden along the Santee,—the latter was to cross Lynch's creek, and follow its course on the eastern bank. They were to unite their forces near Snow's island, which was the favorite hiding place of the "brigade."

Marion heard first of the approach of Watson, and went out with his whole force to meet him. At Taucaw swamp, nearly opposite to the mouth of the present Santee canal, he laid an ambush for him, which he placed under command of colonel Horry. At this time he had but a few rounds of ammunition for each man. His orders to Horry, were, to give two fires and retreat. A second ambush was placed in a contiguous situation, which promised certain advantages. This was a party of cavalry, under the command of captain Conyers. Horry's ambuscade gave its fires with great effect, but was compelled to retire. Watson, having made good his passage of the swamp, sent a detachment of cavalry, under major Harrison, in pursuit of Horry. This detachment was encountered by Conyers, who slew Harrison with his own hand. His party was dispersed after suffering severe loss from the charge of Conyers. Marion, too feeble to assail his opponent openly, continued in this way to embarrass his progress and weaken his force, until they had reached nearly to the lower bridge on Black river, seven miles below King's tree. Here Watson made a feint of taking the road to Georgetown. Too weak to detach a party to the bridge, Marion took an advantageous position on that road. Suddenly wheeling, Watson changed his course and gained possession of the bridge on the western side. This gave him the opening to a very important pass, lead-

ing into the heart of Williamsburgh and to Snow's island. The river on the west runs under a high bluff; the grounds on the east side are low, and the stream, though generally fordable, was at that time swollen by freshets, so as nearly to reach the summit of the opposite shore. This prospect seemed to appal the British colonel. While he hesitated, the less wary partisan led the way for his troop, plunged in, and safely reaching the opposite banks, marched forward to occupy the eastern end of the bridge. Marion detached major James with forty musketeers, and thirty riflemen under McCottry, to burn the bridge.

The riflemen were posted to advantage, and under cover, on the river bank. The attempt of the musketeers to burn the bridge, drew upon them the fire of Watson's artillery. Against this Marion had provided, and the artillerists of the enemy were picked off by McCottry's rifles, as fast as they approached to apply their matches to the gun. The bridge was fired and consumed in the face of the enemy, who, baffled and harassed, turned from the pursuit of the wary partisan, and proceeded by forced marches to Georgetown. But he was not suffered to leave behind him the foe whom his pursuit had seemed only to awaken. Marion hung upon his progress,—now upon his flanks, now in front, and now in the rear—while his rifles exacted heavy toll from the enemy at every mile in their journey. Watson, at last, reached Georgetown in safety; but the implacable riflemen had followed his flying footsteps till the last moment. Never had man been more harassed; and the complaint of Watson, that Marion would not fight like a christian

and a gentleman, has passed, from its ludicrous solemnity, into a proverbial phrase of merriment in the south. Doyle, the coadjutor of Watson, was encountered in like manner, and with similar results. A single conflict drove him back to Camden, with a considerable loss in men, and a greater loss in baggage.

This affair was followed, on the part of the brigade, by a sharp conflict with a body of tories. These were routed and their captain slain. A nephew of Marion also fell in the conflict. A second descent which Marion made upon Georgetown about this time, was more successful than the first. It fell into his hands, but was afterwards set on fire by an armed party from a British vessel, and upwards of forty houses were reduced to ashes.

After the return of general Greene into South Carolina, which followed the flight of Cornwallis into Virginia, Marion ceased to act independently. The exploits of his brigade, no longer acting by itself, became merged in those of the liberating army.



## CHAPTER XX.

At no period had opposition entirely ceased to the British arms in South Carolina. In the worst hour of her misfortunes, there were still some noble bands of her sons, few in number, but fearless in spirit, that maintained her banner among the swamps and forests; always watchful of the occasion when to sally forth and wreak fearful vengeance on the invaders, in the moment of their greatest seeming security. To the names of Sumter, Marion and Pickens, may be added those of Harden, Hampton, Huger, Horry and others, who distinguished themselves from the beginning; and, in the course of the conflict, a new race of youthful warriors sprang up to take the places of those who had been slain, and afford a respite to the labors of others, who had kept the field from the first moment when the British cannon thundered in hostility upon her shores. It does not fall within the plan of this work to record the smaller events, and assign the due praise to every young hero who acquired just renown in the service of his country. It is enough to say, that Carolina, from the opening of the campaign of 1780, became one vast and bloody battle field, in which nearly all of her sons contended. Unhappily, they too often contended with one another, and it is with a sentiment of melancholy pleasure that we record the fact, that the direst issues that ever took place within her borders—the severest trials of strength and the most fearful con-

flicts—were those in which her own sons were pitted against each other. The invaders gained their chief victories by the arms of native citizens.

The flight of Cornwallis into Virginia enabled Greene to direct his undivided attention to the remaining enemy in Carolina, and on the 19th of April, 1781, he sat down with his main army before Camden. On the 15th of the same month, general Marion, having the legion of colonel Lee under his command, invested Fort Watson on the Santee. This was a stockade fort, erected on one of the largest of the many ancient mounds which skirt this river. It was elevated about forty feet from the level of the plain, and far from any eminence which could command it. Its garrison consisted of about eighty regulars and forty loyalists, commanded by lieutenant McKay of the regular troops. Unprovided as he was with artillery, it was impregnable to Marion. Its steep sides and strong palisades discouraged any attempt to storm it.

One of the first efforts made to subdue it, was by cutting the garrison off from Scott's Lake, by which it was supplied with water. From this danger McKay relieved himself by sinking a well within the stockade. Thus foiled, and without artillery, the besiegers must finally have been baffled, but for one of those ingenious devices which are perhaps more readily found by a primitive than an educated people. At a short distance from the fort, there grew a small wood which suggested the proper means of annoyance. The trees were felled, and the timber borne on the shoulders of the men, was piled crosswise, under cover of the night, within a proper distance of the fort. This enabled them to command the fort, and with

the dawn of day, when the light enabled the riflemen to single out their victims, the garrison found themselves overawed by their assailants. A shower of bullets drove them from their defences, and left them no alternative but submission. The capitulation of the fort soon followed ; and pushing his prisoners before him, Marion, after this success, hurried his force forward to effect a junction with Greene. The advance of Marion brought on the battle of Hobkirk's Hill.

Camden, before which the main army lay, is a beautiful village, situated on a plain covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree, and a creek which empties itself into that river. On the western and northern sides, it was guarded by six strong redoubts. It was garrisoned by lord Rawdon with about nine hundred choice troops. Hobkirk's Hill, where Greene took post, was about a mile and a half in advance of the British redoubts. It is a narrow sand ridge of little elevation, which divides the head springs of two small branches, the one emptying into the Wateree river, the other into Pine Tree creek. The American force did not much exceed eight hundred men, and the strong defences of Camden, and his own want of sufficient artillery, were sufficient reasons to keep him from making any attempts upon that place. But this inferiority did not induce any timidity on the part of the American commander. Having made his arrangements and posted his sentinels with singular precaution, Greene neglected no occasion to seduce or provoke his enemy to come out from his defences and give him battle. The fall of Fort Watson, and the approach of the force under

Marion to a junction with the main army, had the effect of bringing about Greene's object.

On the 25th of April, lord Rawdon, arming his musicians, drummers, and every person within his encampment by whom a weapon could be borne, sallied forth with great spirit to the attack. It has been said by some writers, that Greene suffered himself to be surprised in this affair; but this is an error. The attack was made on the very quarter in which the American general was most prepared. The pickets behaved with the utmost coolness, gathering in the videttes, and forming with great deliberation under colonel Kirkwood's Delaware command. His position formed the American advance, and met the first shock of the enemy's charge. Here the contest was maintained for awhile with singular obstinacy, and this little squad retired slowly, fighting with resolute determination, step by step, as they receded before the accumulating pressure of the foe. Lord Rawdon's line was composed of the 13th regiment on the right, the New York volunteers in the centre, and the American loyalists on the left. The right was supported by Irish troops, and the left by a detachment under captain Robertson.

The regiment posted with the cavalry, was raised in South Carolina, so that on this bloody day, the number of European troops engaged was very small. Most of Rawdon's army were American by birth. Nearly one half of his troops were in reserve; the front which he advanced was comparatively small. He had, besides, taken a lesson from the American leaders, and employed flanking parties of picked loyalist riflemen, who moved abreast of his wing among the trees, and did much



towards deciding the issue of the day. The fall of two of the best American officers in the beginning of the fight, was the cause of a most unfortunate disorder which followed among the troops.

The front of Greene's army presented his whole force. Two Virginia regiments, under general Huger, were posted on the right of the road; two Maryland, under colonel Williams, on the left. The first Virginia, under lieutenant colonel Campbell, was on the right of the whole; the second Maryland, under lieutenant colonel Ford, on the left. The second Virginia, under lieutenant colonel Hawes, and the first Maryland, commanded by colonel Gunby, formed the centre. Greene, conjecturing that the enemy knew nothing of his having artillery—which had reached him only a little time before the action—had closed the two centre regiments before it, so that it was completely masked. The effect may well be imagined, when these two regiments, suddenly retiring from the centre, left them free to vomit their showers of grape upon the dense ranks of the enemy preparing for the charge. The confusion and dismay were conspicuous. The squadrons sank, and wheeled, and fled, beneath the terrible discharge; and nothing more seemed to be necessary than to give the command, to close upon their flanks with the regiments right and left and cut them off from escape. The order was given. "Let the cavalry make for their rear; colonel Campbell will wheel upon their left; colonel Ford upon their right; the whole centre will charge—charge with trailed arms."

Such were the commands of Greene, which his aids rushed to convey to the several captains. The roll of

the drums announced their tenor, and Washington, at the head of his cavalry, disappeared among the trees which lay between his troop and the rear of the enemy. The American general already believed his victory to be secure; but he had no ordinary adversary in Rawdon. With the quickness of instinct, this commander threw out his supporting columns, and the Americans, but a moment before in the fullest conviction that they had outflanked the enemy, were themselves outflanked. Their wings were enfiladed and their rear threatened. At this crisis, when every thing depended upon the greatest coolness and a composure which might look undaunted upon the scene, the first Maryland regiment, by excellence esteemed, in the language of Roman eulogium, the tenth legion of the American army—that band to which all eyes were turned for example, which had conquered the British with their own weapon, the bayonet, at the noble passage of valor at the Cowpens—which, alone, had fought half of the battle at Guilford, and obtained more than half of the triumph of that no less bloody day—now, unaccountably, shrunk away from the issue, in a panic which could not be overcome.

Greene, at this moment, was leading on the Virginian regiment of Campbell in person, on the extreme right, when he was called away by the confusion of the centre. Vainly, by voice and gesture, did he seek to restore their confidence, and bring them once more into the action. They heard and halted; but the day was already lost. They were already at the bottom of the hill, and the cheers and clamors of the enemy now commanded his at-

tention in another quarter. Urging his horse up the eminence, he saw for the first time the utmost extent of his misfortune. But a single regiment remained entire; his artillery was uncovered on the summit of the hill. To bring his troops off in order, and to save the artillery, were the only remaining objects; and, amid a shower of bullets, the American general delivered his commands with composure, to draw off the right and left regiments and form them on that of Gunby, which was now rallied; while their retreat should be covered by the second Virginia. This order, well executed, left to Greene the choice of deliberate retreat or a renewal of the battle. During its execution, the main efforts of the British were to secure possession of the artillery. Horse and foot were ascending the hill, and the matrosses were about to fly, when the American general applied his own hand to the drag ropes. This example was not to be withstood. A little band rallied to their rescue, bearing their loaded muskets in one hand while applying the other to the ropes. The fight was renewed in this endeavor. A British corps appeared on the hill moving to the charge. Dropping the ropes, the little troop, forming in the rear of the artillery, met them with a fire, which, repeated with deliberate resolution until escape was impossible, was terribly destructive. Thrice was the attempt renewed and with the same effect. The assailants were driven off with loss, until an overpowering force of infantry and riflemen came to their assistance, and every man of this gallant little band, but forty-five in number, was either killed or taken. The artillery now seemed lost; but at this crisis, colonel Washington charged in upon the road

and put an end to the strife around it. This gentleman, in addition to the rescue of the artillery, captured more than two hundred prisoners. His humanity is alledged by the British to have been detrimental to his objects. A severe military judgment insists that he should have cut down instead of making captives. His prisoners encumbered his movements, and the time lost in taking them might have been of lasting benefit if it had been employed mercilessly upon the British rear.

Rawdon was not in a condition to pursue the Americans far. The latter halted at a distance of two miles to recover stragglers and take refreshment. At noon, the retreat was resumed, and the army finally encamped at Sanders' Creek, about four miles from the scene of action, to which place Washington was ordered back to reconnoitre. As he proceeded in obedience to this order, he was told that Rawdon had returned to Camden, leaving captain Coffin with his cavalry, and a body of mounted infantry in charge of the field of battle. This intelligence suggested to Washington the prospect of a new achievement. Returning with his cavalry into a thicket on the road side, he pushed forward a small detachment, with orders to approach under covert, until within a short distance of the enemy's position. His stratagem produced the desired effect; Coffin's whole troop pursued and fell into the ambuscade. Washington rose from his hiding place as they reached it, and the whole party were either cut to pieces or compelled to save themselves by flight. The field of Hobkirk, thus actually remained in possession of the Americans.

The loss of the two armies in the main battle was nearly equal; that of the British, by reason of the artillery which



the Americans brought into the field, being somewhat the greatest. The event did not discourage the American commander, and its results thickened the difficulties which at this time began to encompass the British.

Very soon after the battle of Hobkirk, Greene detached a re-inforcement to Marion, on the Nelson's Ferry road, and on the 3d of May crossed the Wateree, and took such positions as would enable him to prevent succors from going into Camden from that quarter. Rawdon, having received a considerable re-inforcement under Watson, again sallied out on the 8th of May, to bring the American general, if possible, to a second action. His only hope for the maintenance of the post, was in the defeat and destruction of the army under Greene. The latter was not ignorant of the straits to which his adversary was reduced, and all the efforts of Rawdon to force him into battle proved unavailing.

The British commander, baffled and disappointed, wreaked his vengeance upon the town which he had so long garrisoned, but which he felt himself no longer able to maintain. Camden was reduced to ashes, and amidst the shrieks of its people, and the "curses, not loud, but deep," of the loyalists whom he could no longer protect, lord Rawdon prepared to descend the country. The fall of Fort Watson had broken the chain of communication with Charlestown, and Marion was even now busy in the leaguer of Fort Motte. Having devastated the country, it no longer yielded support to his troops. These he resolved to save, though by the loss of the post and the confidence of the tories. These miserable people, whose savage fury had so long hunted their countrymen with fire and sword,

no longer protected from their vengeance by the arms of the British, were compelled to abandon their homes, and follow the fortunes of the enemy. They dared not await the justice of the Americans. Hundreds followed his lordship, scorned and despised by their allies and hated by their countrymen. Their history may be dismissed in this place. After sharing all the vicissitudes of an army retiring before a pursuing foe, they reached Charlestown and built for themselves a settlement of huts without the lines. This, by a miserable mockery, was called Rawdowntown. Here, men, women, and children, were crowded together in a wretched condition of poverty and shame. They had dwelt happily on their farms near Camden; and perished in the utmost destitution; utterly unnoticed and unassisted by those for whom they had sacrificed the ties of society, and all the first claims of country; the victims equally of disease and want, they died, to use the emphatic language of that time, like "rotten sheep" upon the suburbs.

## CHAPTER XXI.

The breaking up of the British post at Camden, however unavoidable, was of essential disservice to the British cause. From that moment the numbers of the Americans increased—arms in their hands and indignation in their hearts—following the footsteps of the retreating army, and wreaking vengeance at every turn, for the long suffering and cruel indignities which they had undergone. To Rawdon it seemed as if the fabled teeth of the dragon had been sown around him, so prolific on a sudden was the increase among his foes. That this measure had become one of imperative necessity to the British commander, is unquestionable. With a strong enemy hanging upon his skirts, a dissatisfied population all around him;—Marion and Lee, Sumter and Pickens, busy, with their accustomed promptitude, and operating upon the posts below which connected him with Charlestown, and secured him his only route of retreat to the seaboard;—he had no alternative but to evacuate a station from which he had so long overawed the country, but which was now no longer tenable. The activity of the partisan bands below him, also demanded his early succour for the several garrisons which they threatened. His own safety pressing urged the propriety of his retreat. Greene simply awaited the arrival of recruits from Virginia, when, it was evident to Rawdon no less

than to his opponent, that all his stores and resources must fall into the hands of the Americans.

The hopes of the Carolinians grew doubly active at this period. The old revolutionary spirit which had distinguished the people at the time of the battle of Fort Moultrie, seemed once more to re-animate them. Squads of armed whigs sprang up simultaneously in every quarter of the state. Well mounted, and commanded by popular leaders, they seemed endowed with the attributes of ubiquity, and appeared to the astonished Britons to be every where at once. The very names of Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, were productive of momentary panic; and detachments from the troops of the two former generals, availing themselves of the flight of Cornwallis to Virginia, and the approach of Greene, carried their arms to the very gates of Charlestown.

Major Harden, a gentleman of Beaufort, whose name furnished one of the rallying sounds of the revolution, was a chief instrument in the hands of Marion for carrying out the bold and expert achievements which have crowned their names with a local celebrity, as honorable as it is vivid and unperishing. With seventy select men, crossing the enemy's lines of communication, he ravaged the country in the face of the foe, from Monk's Corner to the Savannah river. His force gathered as it went forward, and was quickly increased to two hundred men. With a rapidity of movement which baffled pursuit, he combined a readiness and valor which made him successful in every encounter. To entrap him appeared as impossible as pursuit of him was vain. The Savannah no longer remained a boundary, but throwing himself across



from bank to bank, as circumstances required it, he became a terror to the loyalists of both provinces, extending his ravages from the seaboard to Augusta, and utterly defeating every attempt to accumulate a force against him. This duty achieved, he joined the detachment under general Pickens, who was then operating against Augusta and Ninety Six.

The fall of Camden led to the rapid overthrow of the enemy's chain of posts below, and completed the recovery of the state to within thirty miles of the sea. Greene, concluding, after the evacuation of this place by Rawdon, that it would be the enemy's object to withdraw his posts on the Congaree, and concentrate them below the Santee, dispatched expresses to Marion and Sumter, to prepare themselves for such an event. He himself, ordering the army to proceed by the Camden road for the Congaree, took an escort of cavalry and moved down in person to Fort Motte. At McCord's ferry he received the tidings of the capitulation of this place. Fort Motte lies above the fork on the south side of the Congaree. The works of the British were built around the mansion house of the lady whose name it bore, and from which, in their savage recklessness of shame, the British officers had expelled her. It was a noble mansion of considerable value; but not of so much value as to abridge the patriotism of the high spirited owner. Defended by a strong garrison, under a resolute commander, the fortress promised to baffle for a long time the progress of the besiegers. Under these circumstances, Mrs. Motte, who had been driven for shelter to a neighboring hovel, produced an Indian bow, which, with a quiver of arrows, she

presented to the American commander. "Take these," she said, while presenting them, "and expel the enemy. These will enable you to fire the house." Her earnest entreaty that this course might be adopted, prevailed with the reluctant Marion. Combustibles were fastened to the arrows, which were shot into the roof of the dwelling; and the patriotic woman rejoiced in the destruction of her property, when it secured the conquest of her countrymen. Such, throughout the dreary war of the revolution, was universally the character of the Carolina women. The sons fought, but who shall measure the aid and influence which the daughters brought to the conflict? This will need a volume to itself.

Driven out from their place of shelter, the garrison at Fort Motte was forced to surrender, and the force under Marion was ready for operation in other quarters. A portion of it, under colonel Lee, was immediately dispatched by Greene, as the van of the army, for the reduction of Fort Granby. The fall of Fort Motte increased the panic of the British, and two days after that event, they evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry, blew up the fortifications and destroyed their stores. Fort Granby, after a brief conflict, was surrendered with all its garrison, consisting of nearly four hundred men. The terms afforded by colonel Lee, were greatly complained of by the Carolinians. These terms gave to the enemy the privilege of carrying off their baggage, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder. The approach of lord Rawdon, with all his army, is said to have hastened the operations of Lee, and to have led to the liberal concessions which he made to the garrison; but he has incurred

the reproach of hastening the capitulation in order to anticipate the arrival of Sumter and the grand army. The siege had been begun some time before, by Sumter, who had left colonel Taylor, with a strong party, to maintain his position, while he made a sudden descent upon the enemy's post at Orangeburg, in which he was thoroughly successful. Sumter, himself, conceived that he had suffered injury by the capitulation, in which nothing was gained but the earlier possession of a post which could not have been held many days longer, and must have fallen, without conditions, and with all its spoils, into the hands of the Americans. It was with bitter feelings that the whig militia beheld the covered wagons of the enemy, drawn by their own horses, which they knew to be filled with the plunder of their farms and houses, driven away before their eyes.

On the 11th of May, the garrison at Orangeburg, to the number of one hundred, with all their stores and a large supply of provisions, surrendered to Sumter.

From Granby, Lee was sent to co-operate with Pickens against Augusta; and three days after the fall of the former post, his legion was arrayed before the walls of the latter. Meanwhile, general Greene took up the line of march for Ninety Six, and on the 22nd of May he sat down before that formidable station. The reduction of this place was an object of the greatest interest. The village of Cambridge, or as it was called in that day, the post of Ninety Six, was, at this time, the pivot of very extensive operations. To possess it, therefore, was to give the finishing blow to the British strength in the interior of the state. The task of holding lord Rawdon

in check in Charlestown, was confided to Sumter and Marion. In the execution of this duty they closed in upon him, until he established a line of fortified posts, extending from Georgetown, by Monk's Corner, Dorchester, &c., to Coosawhatchie. The British were frequently harassed by the partisans, who made incursions within this line; but the force of the assailants was not adequate to any serious attack upon any one of them, that of Georgetown alone excepted. This station having been left with a small garrison, and being separated from the rest of the line by swamps and water-courses of such magnitude as to prevent any sudden relief from reaching it, was attacked and carried. The British fled to their gallies, while Marion deliberately moved all the military stores and public property up the Pedee, demolished the fortifications, and returned, without loss, to his position in St. Stevens. The fall of the British forts at Augusta followed this event, and the leading object of general Greene was the prosecution of the siege of Ninety-Six.

This siege was one of the most animated occurrences of the American war. It lasted nearly a month. The place was remarkable on many accounts. It was the scene of the first conflict in the southern, and, perhaps, in the revolutionary war. In this place, in the year 1775, began that sanguinary hostility between the whigs and tories, which afterwards desolated the beautiful country around it.

A peculiar circumstance invited the hostile parties to this spot. It had been surrounded with a stockade as a defence against the incursions of the Indians, whose settlements were then in its near neighborhood. The stockade



still remained, and was improved and garrisoned by the British soon after they had obtained possession of Charleston. It made a chief point in their chain of military posts, and was trebly important as it maintained an open communication with the Indians, kept in check the whig settlements on the west, and covered those of the loyalists on the north, south and east of it. It was the most advanced post of the royal army, was a depot of recruits, and contributed to the support of Camden and Augusta, in the overawing influence which they maintained upon the population of the two states of South Carolina and Georgia.

At the time that Greene commenced his siege, the post was under the command of colonel Cruger, with a garrison of near six hundred men, all native Americans. Cruger himself was an American loyalist of New York, which state, with that of New Jersey, furnished the great body of his army. These had enlisted at an early period of the war, and were considered among the best soldiers of the royal army. The remaining portion of his force were riflemen recruited in the neighborhood—men, desperate from their social position, and marksmen of the first order. This latter body were conspicuous in the successful defence of the place.

Cruger, on the approach of Greene, lost no time in preparing for his defence. He soon completed a ditch around his stockade, threw the earth upon it, parapet height, and secured it within by traverses and coverts, to facilitate a safe communication between all his points of defence. His ditch he farther secured by abbatis, and at convenient distances within the stockade erected strong block-houses of notched logs. Within this post he was

in possession of a very respectable battery, of a star shape, with sixteen salient and returning angles, which communicated with the stockade. This battery was defended by three pieces of artillery, on wheel carriages, which could be moved readily from one point to another. On the north of the village extends a valley, through which flows a rivulet that supplied the garrison with water. The county prison lying near, was fortified, and commanded the valley on the side next the village. On the opposite side of the valley, and within reach of the fire from the gaol, was a strong stockade fort with two block-houses, which covered the communication with the rivulet from that quarter. A covert way led from the town to the rivulet.

Greene, when he beheld the strength of the place, apprehended the failure of his enterprise ; but this doubt did not discourage him from his design. He broke ground on the 23rd of May, and by the 3rd of June had completed his second parallel. The engineer of the American army was the celebrated Polish exile, Kosciusko. On completing the first parallel, a mine, directed against the star battery of the enemy, was commenced under cover of a battery erected on his right. The work was pursued by the besiegers, day and night, without intermission. The troops labored alternately in the ditches, some on guard while others toiled, and even sleeping on their arms to repel the sallies of the besieged, which were bold and frequent, and resulted in long and spirited conflicts. The American works steadily advanced, however, in spite of these sallies ; but a fierce strife followed every step in

their progress, and not a night passed without the loss of lives on both sides.

As soon as the ground parallel was completed, the garrison was summoned to surrender. The demand was answered with defiance, and the siege was pressed. With time to complete the approaches of the beleaguering army, the fall of the garrison had been certain; but the force of Greene was wretchedly inadequate. His recruits of militia from Virginia had failed to arrive; the Carolina troops were all actively engaged in keeping Rawdon in check below; while Cruger, with timely prudence, had incorporated with his army his negro laborers, and was farther aided from without by a marauding force under Cunningham, which materially interfered with the supplies, the recruits and general intelligence of the Americans. Still, the advance of the besiegers was such, that farther resistance would soon have been temerity. The Americans had completed their third parallel, and from wooden towers, the marksmen of the assailing army had succeeded in driving the British artillerists from their guns. To fire the houses of the garrison by means of burning arrows, such as had been employed in the capture of Fort Motte, was next resorted to by the Americans; but Cruger freed himself from this danger by promptly throwing off the roofs of his houses. The works of the besiegers were so near completion, that a farther defence of the place was limited to four days. Besides the towers before spoken of, one of which was within thirty yards of the enemy's ditch, the besiegers had several batteries of cannon within a hundred and forty yards, one of which so completely commanded the "star," that the garrison were

compelled to shelter themselves behind bags of sand, which increased its elevation by three feet. Through these sand bags, apertures were left for the use of small arms by day, and the withdrawal of the sand bags, left embrasures for the employment of the cannon by night. Thus, for ten days, the besiegers and besieged lay watching each other. During this time, not a man could show his head on either side, without incurring the shot of the riflemen. Still the garrison, though greatly suffering from the American fire, maintained its defence with a constancy that reflects the highest honor on its commander. That Cruger must have surrendered, that it would have been a wanton sacrifice of life for him to continue a conflict in such circumstances, was inevitable, but that he had been strengthened in his resolution by advices which had reached him from without.

Rawdon, re-inforced by three regiments from Ireland, had broken through the obstructions offered by the partisan forces under Marion, and was advancing by rapid marches to the relief of Ninety-Six. This important intelligence had been conveyed to Cruger, and invigorated his defence. A woman was the instrument employed by the British for encouraging Cruger to protract the siege. Residing in the neighborhood, she had visited the camp of Greene, under some pretence of little moment. The daughter of one tried patriot, and the sister of another, she had been received at the general's table and permitted the freedom of the encampment. But she had formed a matrimonial connection with a British officer, and the ties of love had proved stronger than those of any other relationship. In the opportunities



thus afforded her, she contrived to apprise the garrison that she had a communication from lord Rawdon. A young loyalist received it from her lips, at a farm house in the neighborhood, and, under the fires of the sentinels, dashing successfully and at full speed by the pickets, he was admitted with hurras into the garrison.

This circumstance rendered it necessary to abandon the siege or carry the place by assault. By mid-day, on the morning of the 18th of June, the different detachments of the army were in readiness. On the American left, against the star battery, lieutenant Duval, with a command of Marylanders, and lieutenant Selden, with another of Virginians, led the forlorn hope. Close behind them followed a party furnished with hooks at the end of staves, and these were followed by the first Maryland and first Virginia, under colonel Campbell, prepared for the assault. These were marched, under cover of the approaches, to within a few yards of the enemy's ditch. The posts, rifle towers, and advanced works of the besiegers were all manned, with orders to clear the parapets of the garrison previous to the advance of the storming party. On the American right, against the stockade fort, major Randolph commanded colonel Lee's forlorn hope, supported by the infantry of the legion, and captain Kirkwood with the remains of the Delaware regiment. Duval and Selden were ordered to clear away the abbatis and occupy the curtain opposite them; then, driving off the enemy from the sides of the angle thus occupied, to open the way for the billmen to pull down the sand bags. These overthrown, were to assist the party of Campbell in mounting to the assault.

A discharge of cannon at noon was the signal for the parties to move. A blaze of artillery and small arms, directed to the point of attack, covered the forlorn hope in its smoke. Under its shade, this gallant band leapt into the ditch and commenced the work assigned them; but the enemy was prepared for them, and met the assault with valor and determination. Bayonets and pikes bristled above the parapet, and from the loop holes in the sand bags, poured an incessant stream of fire, which swept the slender ranks of the assailants. The form of the redoubt gave the defenders a complete command of the ditch; and their coolness, and the comparative safety of their cover, enabled them to use it with complete success.

Under the cross fire from opposite sections of the redoubt, the little band of Americans were mowed down with fearful havoc. Their leaders had both fallen, severely wounded, and two-thirds of their number lay bleeding and in death around them; yet was the strife maintained for near three quarters of an hour, and the assailants, as if resolved on no other issues than death or victory, only retreated at length, at the express orders of their commander. In this conflict they obtained possession of the curtain, and in their retreat, though still under a galling fire from the garrison, they brought off the greater number of their wounded comrades. Lord Rawdon, with twenty-five hundred fresh troops, appeared soon after in the neighborhood, and nothing was left to the American general but retreat. Had a few days of time been allowed to his approaches on Ninety-Six, or had the supplies of militia promised from Virginia reached him, the

prize for which he struggled must have been in his possession. Now, baffled, if not beaten, he fell back slowly and sullenly before the pursuit of Rawdon, until the latter, weary of a chase which promised to be hopeless and, warned by circumstances which called him elsewhere, abandoned equally the pursuit and the country.

His march had served only to extricate Cruger from his immediate difficulty. The proofs were convincing all around him, that the day had gone by when a foreign foe could maintain itself among the recovering inhabitants. "Ninety-Six," in defence of which so much blood had been already shed, was therefore abandoned to the assailants from whom it had been so lately rescued ; and piteous, indeed, was the misery of the wretched loyalists whom this abandonment virtually surrendered to the rage of the long persecuted patriots. A fearful day of retribution was at hand, which they did not venture to await. At a season when their farms were most lovely in the promise of a plenteous harvest, they were compelled to surrender them and fly. Vainly did their chiefs expostulate with Rawdon against his desertion of those who, to serve the cause of their sovereign, had incurred the enduring hostility of their countrymen. But the necessity was not less pressing upon the British general than upon his wretched allies ; and with a last look upon their homes, a mournful cavalcade of men, women and children, prepared to abandon the fields of equal beauty and plenty, which their treachery to their country had richly forfeited, but for which they were still willing to perish rather than depart. Sullenly the strong men led the way, while, with eyes that streamed and still looked backward, the women

and children followed reluctantly, and with souls full of wretchedness and grief. How bitterly in their ears, at such a moment, must have sounded the notes of that drum and trumpet which had beguiled them from the banners of their country to those of its invader? What a pang to the bosoms of the fathers; what a lesson to the sons, guiltless of the offence, yet condemned to share in its penalties. Surely, when the barbarian drum again sounds to war in Carolina, her children will find themselves all, with one heart, united under the same banner.



## CHAPTER XXII.

The retreat of the British from Ninety-Six, while it encouraged the whigs in that quarter, induced a very general apprehension that it would enable lord Rawdon, by the additional force which it afforded him, to re-establish all the posts which he had lately lost, to the southward of the Santee. After the flight of Cornwallis to Virginia, the British commanders in South Carolina had contracted their operations almost entirely within that extent of country which is enclosed by the Santee, the Congaree, and Edisto. Within these limits, after the late retreat of Greene, Rawdon had resolved to canton his forces, and the most eligible positions were examined with this object. But he soon found that the American general was not disposed to suffer the progress of this intention, without endeavoring to arrest or disturb it; and great was his surprise, accordingly, to hear that Greene, whom he had so lately driven before him, had faced about to give him battle upon the Congaree. Having divided his force, and given one part of it to colonel Stewart, who was stationed at Orangeburg, he felt himself unequal to the encounter; and following the dictates of veteran prudence, he fell back before the approaching Americans, retreating hastily to this latter post, where he was sheltered on one side by the Edisto, and on the other with strong buildings, little inferior to redoubts. In the advance which Greene continued to make upon the retreat-

ing foe, an opportunity offered of striking a blow at his cavalry. Rawdon had with him but a small number of horse; his chief strength in this description of troops being engaged in distant operations. Major Eggleston, with a strong body of the American cavalry, throwing himself in advance of the enemy, placed an ambush in reserve, and presented himself with a small number in view of the British. This drew upon him, as was anticipated, an attack from the whole hostile cavalry. His flight seduced them to the thicket, where the rest of his troop was concealed, and their joint charges completely overwhelmed the foe. Many were slain, and forty-five men and horse, with several commissioned officers, within a mile of the whole British army, fell into the hands of the Americans. The flight of Rawdon to Orangeburg, stimulated by this event and the accumulating numbers and audacity of the Americans, was so precipitate, that more than fifty of the British army fell dead on the march, from fatigue, heat and privation.

Greene encamped within five miles of Orangeburg, and offered battle to his antagonist. Secure in his strong hold, Rawdon did not venture to sally out; and the force of the American general was too feeble to justify an attack upon him in his works. Several efforts which he made with his cavalry, to arrest the approach of supplies to the British, having proved abortive, and tidings having reached him of the advance of Cruger with fifteen hundred men to the relief of Rawdon, compelled general Greene to retire from a position which he could not have maintained against his foe after the junction with Cruger. A day before the junction was effected, he with-

drew to the High Hills of Santee, while he meditated other modes for the expulsion of the enemy from the strong position which he had taken on the Edisto.

Having succeeded in driving Rawdon from Camden, by striking at the posts below, it was resolved to pursue a like plan of warfare, to compel the evacuation of Orangeburg. In obedience to this resolution, Sumter and Marion, with their several commands, consisting chiefly of the state troops, and officered by most of those able partisans, the two Hamptons, Taylor, Horry, Mayhem, Lacy and others, who had maintained the liberties of their country in the swamps, when they were too feeble to hold their ground in the field, were accordingly let loose, in an incursion into the lower country, which drove the enemy at all quarters for safety into Charlestown, and for a time, prostrated the royal power even to the gates of that place.

While the partisans were sweeping down every path that led to the city, Greene, with the main army, pursued the road leading down the south side of the Congaree, and the east side of Cooper river. Various little successes distinguished the progress of the partisans. Colonel Wade Hampton charged a party of dragoons within five miles of Charlestown, and appearing before the walls of the city, occasioned a degree of alarm in the garrison, which could scarcely have been justified by the appearance of the whole American force. The bells were rung, alarm guns fired, and the whole force of the city confusedly gathered, and under arms. In this foray, Hampton captured fifty prisoners, and after exhibiting them to the sentinels on the more advanced redoubts, coolly retired,

without suffering interruption or injury. He also burned four vessels, laden with valuable stores for the British army. Lieutenant colonel Lee took all the wagons and wagon horses belonging to a convoy of provisions; traversed Dorchester and the neighborhood, from which the garrison was expelled; and, meeting with Hampton, proceeded to rejoin the main body, under Sumter.

Meanwhile, a detachment of Marion's men, under colonel Mayhem, passing the head of Cooper river and Wadboo creek, penetrated below to the eastward of Biggin church, to obstruct the retreat of the garrison at the church, by destroying the Wadboo bridge. The church near Biggin bridge was a strong brick building, about a mile from Monk's Corner, where the British had a redoubt. The church covered the bridge, and secured the retreat at that point by way of the Corner. It was strongly garrisoned by lieutenant colonel Coates, with a British force of nearly seven hundred men; and the detachment under Mayhem did not dare to advance with any confidence while unsupported by the main American force, under Sumter.

On the 16th of June, Sumter having collected the greater portion of his detachment, advanced to support Mayhem in his attempt upon the bridge. Re-inforcing his troop with a detachment under colonel Peter Horry, the command devolved upon the latter officer, who at once proceeded to the destruction of the bridge. The cavalry of the enemy advanced boldly to defeat his purpose, but were received by the mounted American riflemen, who broke entirely through them, killing some, and taking a number of prisoners. This defeat drew



out the British in such force, that the party engaged in destroying the bridge were compelled to fall back upon the main body. Sumter, believing that the British had marched out to give him battle, retired behind a defile, at a little distance in the rear, and prepared to receive the attack in the most advantageous position.

But the British colonel had no such purpose. In proportion as the confidence of the Americans rose in the conflict, that of the invaders invariably fell. The purpose of Coates was simply to wear out the day. With the approach of night, he accumulated the stores of the garrison within the church, and having set fire to them, moved off on his flight to the eastward, by Wadboo and Quinby. The flames bursting through the roof of the sacred edifice, first informed Sumter of the flight of the enemy. The pursuit was immediately commenced ; but, unfortunately, lieutenant Singleton, with a piece of artillery, was ordered to remain upon the ground, that he might not delay the movements of the infantry. Lee and Hampton led the pursuit, until, having passed the Wadboo, they discovered that the cavalry of the enemy had separated from the infantry, and had taken the route to the right. Hampton diverged in this direction, urging his panting horses to the utmost, in the hope to overtake them before they could effect their passage of the river. In this he was unsuccessful, and he returned only to witness the equally fortunate escape of the enemy's infantry, the only remaining object of pursuit. Marion's cavalry had joined the legion cavalry of Lee, and about a mile to the north of Quinby creek, they overtook the rear guard of the retreating army, consisting of one hundred men.

The furious onset of the cavalry deprived them almost of the power of resistance. They threw down their arms without firing a gun. Colonel Coates having passed Quinby bridge, had already commenced its demolition, and only awaited the passage of the rear guard and his baggage, to complete its destruction. The planks which covered the bridge were already loosened from their sleepers, and a howitzer, at its opposite extremity, was so placed as to protect the party engaged in throwing them off. As the rear guard had been overcome without any fight, no alarm gun had been fired, no express had been sent to apprise the British commander of his danger, and he was almost wholly unprepared for his defence. The panic, by which he had lost one important part of his force, had nearly involved the annihilation of the remainder. He happened, however, fortunately for himself, to be at the bridge when the American cavalry came rushing into view. His main body was, at this moment, partly on the causeway, on the south side of the bridge, and partly pressed into a lane beyond it. Thus crowded, they were wholly disabled from immediate action. Coates, nevertheless, coolly prepared himself as well as he might, to remedy the difficulties of his situation, and make his resistance as effectual as possible. Orders were dispatched to his troops on the advance, to halt, form, and march up, while the artillerists were called to the howitzer, and the fatigue party to the renewal of their labors for the destruction of the bridge.

If the situation of the British was thus perilous, that of the pursuing Americans, for a time, became scarcely less so. The planks sliding into the water, and the open jaws

of the howitzer, ready to send destruction into their crowded ranks, left them little time for deliberation. Pressing upon each other, a dense mass upon a narrow causeway, they felt that the withdrawal of the enemy's fatigue party from the destruction of the bridge, would be the signal for applying the lighted port-fire to the howitzer. A moment longer, and the iron hail would have mowed down their columns.

The front section of the American force was led by captain Armstrong, of Lee's legion. He saw the danger, and availed himself of the single moment that was left him. Dashing over the bridge, he drove the artillerists from the gun. Lieutenant Carrington followed ; the third section advanced, but faltered. Mayhem, at the head of Marion's men, feeling the halt, charged by the legionary cavalry ; but the death of his horse arrested his progress. Captain McCauley, who led his front section, pressed on, passed the bridge, and joined in the fierce melee, hand to hand, that was going on upon the causeway beyond.

This narrow passage was now crowded, and a conflict, no less confused than desperate, followed their encounter. Some of the working party, snatching up their guns, delivered a single fire and then fled. Two of Lee's dragoons fell dead at the mouth of the howitzer, and several were badly wounded. Still the others remained unhurt. Coates, with his officers, covered by a wagon, opposed them with their swords, while the British infantry hurried forward to find an opening in which they might display. Lee, meanwhile, had arrived, and was engaged with Mayhem and Dr. Irving, his surgeon, in repairing the bridge, so as to enable the rest of his force

to cross to the relief of the few brave men who had effected the passage, while yet the planks remained upon the sleepers.

At this moment, Armstrong and McCauley discovered themselves to be alone. Their men had failed to cross the bridge while the passage was available, and, of the few by whom they had been followed, but a single soldier remained. Coates and his officers occupied the causeway, protected by a wagon in front, and until the plank which he had succeeded in casting from the sleepers could be restored, they could hope for no assistance from their countrymen. Had they been promptly followed, the enemy might have been cut in pieces. Now, they beheld nothing but the seeming certainty of their own fate. The resolution of these brave men, in this predicament, was equally prompt and decided with that which had involved them in it. They knew that they should be safe from the fire of the enemy in front, as long as Coates and his officers were in the rear; and boldly urging their way through the confused bodies still flying along the causeway, they rapidly passed over it, gained the woods, and wheeling to the left, escaped without hurt, within the shelter of the forest.

Colonel Coates having succeeded in throwing the plank from the bridge, and thus briefly delaying the advance of the cavalry, retired to the Shubrick plantation, adjoining, and took post under cover of its numerous buildings. At three o'clock, the detachment of Sumter reached the ground. He found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive him. As the American force consisted chiefly of riflemen and cavalry, and very few had bayonets, it



would have been madness to advance directly to the attack. The precedent of King's mountain furnished the partisan with his order of battle. His own brigade, led by colonels Middleton, Polk, Taylor and Lacey, were ordered to reach and occupy a line of negro houses.

Marion's brigade, at that time very much reduced, was thrown into two divisions, and ordered to advance on the right of the enemy, having no shelter but fences, and these within short gun shot of the house which the British occupied. The several parties moved to the attack with alacrity. Sumter's brigade soon gained the negro houses in their front, and from these directed their rifles with great effect. Colonel Thomas Taylor, with a small command of forty-five men, pressed forward to the fences of the enemy's left, from whence he delivered his fire. This drew upon him the British bayonet, which compelled his retreat. Marion's men, as they beheld this, with the coolness and intrepidity of veterans, rushing through a galling fire, extricated Taylor, and from the imperfect covering of the fences, continued the fight until not a charge of ammunition remained among them. All who fell in the action were of Marion's command.

The British maintained their defence from within the houses, and from a picketed garden, till the sun was down. The Americans were then drawn off, after a conflict of three hours, in which they lost forty men killed and wounded. The British loss was seventy killed; their force nearly doubled that of the Americans, and were chiefly composed of Irish troops, but for whose inexperience in the use of fire-arms, the loss of Marion's men must have been infinitely greater than it was. Sum-

ter was compelled to forego any farther attempts upon his foe ; as, at the close of the engagement, there was not a single charge of powder among his men.

The British lost in the several engagements, apart from the slain and wounded, the numbers of whom could never be accurately known, nearly two hundred prisoners, including nine commissioned officers, a large quantity of valuable stores, wagons and horses, and—a prize no less rare than valuable in the eyes of the starving Americans—seven hundred and twenty guineas, taken in the paymaster's chest, with the baggage at Quinby bridge.

The expedition of Sumter, though not as successful as it might have been—for Coates' whole force might have been captured—was of the highest service, as it inspired the country with a wholesome confidence in its native valor. The troops actually engaged in the attack on colonel Coates, were almost exclusively South Carolina militia, and they displayed, with the vivacious audacity of the partisan, the firm, collected resolution of the drilled veteran.

Marion's men amply demonstrated, when they brought off Taylor's division from the British bayonet, under the heaviest fire from their pickets, that nothing was wanting but military constancy, and the weapons of soldiers, to meet the best appointed troops of Europe.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

These events, while they led to the concentration of the British forces, allowed a breathing spell to the Americans. Greene retired to the High Hills of Santee, where the condition of his army, two-thirds of the men of which were sick, rendered repose absolutely necessary. But this repose did not imply idleness. To discipline his troops, no less than to restore the sick, was a leading object of the commander. His mind was occupied with the necessity of grappling, on better terms of equality, with the two able British generals with whom he had already tried his strength.

To drive Rawdon to Charlestown, and confine him within the limits of that city, under the control of a respectable force, would enable him to turn his arms against Cornwallis, and secure, or at least contribute to the securing, of that formidable commander in Virginia. Such was his desire; but the business on his hands proved too various, and his resources too few, for its performance; and, fortunately for the cause of American liberty, Cornwallis found other foes, too numerous for his safety or escape, in the state which he had invaded.

While Greene lay at the Hills, Marion, with his brigade, traversed the Santee with a success and an activity that did not suffer diminution because of the intense heats of August. He was still the same cautious but enterprising, bold yet vigilant captain;—always in motion,

and always successful, that he had ever shown himself from the first. His contemporary, Sumter, at the same time, with no less activity, returned to the Ninety-Six district, where the sanguinary war of whig and tory had been renewed among the inhabitants, with a ferocity commensurate to the forbearance which they had so long shown of necessity, and to that hatred which was not naturally the consequence of their adverse principles.

With the lawlessness of professed banditti, the several parties ravaged the possessions of their opponents, sparing no plunder and hesitating at no crime. To suppress these parties, overawe discontents, and capture the ring-leaders, gave full employment, for some time, to the arms of this active partisan. The wretches thus captured, would have been subjected to vindictive and summary justice, by the arm of martial law, but for the re-establishment of civil power in the state, from which it had been withdrawn during the presence everywhere of the British forces.

The return of governor Rutledge to the state, and the restoration of the regular authority, together with the arrival of a re-inforcement of troops from North Carolina, contributed to strengthen Greene's army, and encourage him in the hope that he should be able to pursue his objects, and press the British downward to their sole strong hold in the city. The only enemy of force before him, was colonel Stewart, who had been left by lord Rawdon in command at Orangeburg. Sumter's incursion into the low country, had drawn his lordship with some precipitation down to Charlestown, where he only remain-



ed long enough to sully his military honors by numberless acts, equally sanguinary and shameful.

The reverses of the British arms had embittered the temper of their leaders, and they seemed to think, that in deeds of cruelty alone could they lessen the mortification of defeat. One of these deeds, as it has already received the general reprobation of the American world, and as it indicates the temper in which the invaders of Carolina treated and beheld her sons, should receive particular attention. This was the wanton execution, without trial and against law, of a noble Carolinian, taken in arms against the enemy, and hung by the joint command of lord Rawdon and lieutenant colonel Balfour, who held the post of commandant of the city.

Colonel Isaac Hayne was a planter of South Carolina, of good nurture and family, and highly esteemed among his countrymen for his amiable manners and unblemished character. During the siege of Charlestown, he commanded a troop of horse, and served his country at the same time as a senator in the state legislature. His corps of cavalry, which operated in the rear of the British army, and not within the city, did not share in the general captivity of the citizens in the fall of Charlestown. After that event, opposition being overawed throughout the state, this little corps, like nearly every other of the same kind, was disbanded, and Hayne returned with his family to the privacy of his plantation. The British traversed the state, which was at length declared to be conquered; and the complete defeat of Gates at Camden, almost made it so. A military government had been established over it immediately after the reduction of Charlestown, and successive

commandants were appointed for the administration of its affairs, whose powers were left undefined, and were, indeed, dictatorial.

Among these commandants, the most conspicuous was lieutenant colonel Balfour. He was a vain man, proud of his authority, and solicitous of its exercise. By the subversion of every trace of the popular government, without any proper civil establishment in its stead, he contrived, with the aid of a few coadjutors, to concentrate in his own person all powers, whether legislative, judicial, or executive, and exercised over the citizens a like authority with that which he possessed over the military. For the slightest offences, and on pretexts the most idle and insufficient, they were imprisoned in places the most loathsome. Some were incarcerated in the vaults beneath the Exchange, then termed the provost; some were hurried on board the prison ships, denied to see their friends and families, and deprived, not only of their accustomed comforts, but of those necessities which health and decency equally demanded.

The fortune of war had thrown nearly five thousand of the Carolina troops into the hands of the British, and these were made to endure all the evils and hardships which it was in the power of vain insolence, malignant hostility, blind prejudice, or the accustomed arrogance of British officers towards their colonial dependents, to display. Under a policy no less short-sighted than inhuman, which so generally marked the proceedings of the British commanders in America, they determined to break the spirit of the people to the will of their sovereign, and enforce, at the point of the sword, submission to their exactions.

Instead of seeking, by measures of judicious indulgence, to beguile the Carolinians from those principles which had produced their disaffection to the royal authority—a course which might have had the desired effect, when we regard the closer sympathies which had distinguished the Americans of the southern colonies, and particularly South Carolina, with the mother country, and the absence of any of those rival interests which lay at the foundation of the quarrel between England and the northern colonies—the unwise representatives of British dominion in Carolina, clothed in a little brief authority, to which their conduct proves them to have been unaccustomed, exasperated the people by their insolence, and provoked them to desperation by their unnecessary annoyances and injuries. Considering the whole state as subdued, and freed from the wholesome fear of retribution, which might have induced them to pause in their progress of injustice, they, soon after the reduction of Charlestown, began to act toward the inhabitants, as rebels out of the pale of all indulgence, and only to be brought back to their duty by the scourge and sabre. Nor did they content themselves with administering to the supposed offenders the penalties of treason with their own hands. The bloody conflicts between the whigs and tories, which had begun in 1775, were renewed; and, under British sanction and encouragement, the monstrous cruelties and crimes which distinguished that fratricidal warfare from 1775 to 1780, had become faint impressions to those which followed that period. No language can do justice to, and visit with proper execration, the doings of that dismal civil war, which desolated the fair fields of Carolina,

and deluged her dwellings with the tears and blood of her children. The ties of nature, of society, of neighborhood, were torn apart and trampled. Friendships and fellowships were sundered with the sword. Father and son stood with confronting weapons in opposite ranks, and brothers grappled in the gladiatorial embrace of the savage, goaded to constant strife by the shouts and rewards of the British conqueror. Under their favoring countenance, people of the worst character emerged from their hiding places in the swamp; men of all sorts of crime; thieves and murderers; blood-painted and gallows-branded wretches, who needed but the halloo of the savage huntsman, to spring upon the track of the unhappy fugitive. These drove the patriots from their hiding places and country, ravaged their possessions, burnt their dwellings, abused their women, slew their children, and converted the sweetest homes of happiness into places of sorrow or the most savage solitude. In the single district of Ninety-Six, there were no less than fourteen hundred widows and orphans made by this savage warfare.

There was but one mode left for safety to those unhappy Carolinians, who, still devoted to their country's liberties, were yet liable to be torn and tortured through the bosom of their exposed and suffering families. This was to accept of the protection of British power against the aggravated excesses of their own infatuated countrymen. This protection was granted only to those who claimed it as British subjects. To this wretched necessity, colonel Hayne was soon reduced. A mean artifice of a British officer seduced him from his plantation to the city, where he was closely imprisoned, and obtained his



release from this duress, only by subscribing a declaration of allegiance to the British crown. This he did, though not without expressly excepting to that clause which required him with his arms to support the royal government. His exception was replied to in language which might have soothed most minds, though, perhaps, it should not, strictly speaking, have satisfied any. He was verbally assured that such services would never be required at his hands. "When the regular forces of his majesty," were the words of the British officers, "need the aid of the inhabitants for the defence of the province, it will be high time for them to leave it." But they required this aid much sooner than they imagined.

The approach of Greene with his continentals; the sudden uprising, almost at the same moment, of Marion, Sumter, Hampton, Davie, Harden, and a hundred other fearless partisans; their strange successes; their rapid movements, whether in assault or retreat; the partial defeat of Cornwallis; his flight to Virginia, and those crowding necessities which drove his successor, lord Rawdon, from Camden to the sea board;—exasperated the passions of the British as much as they alarmed their fears. Hayne, having made his peace with the British government on the only terms which they would admit, had scarcely returned to his plantation, where he received the last breath of a dying wife, when he was peremptorily required to join the British standard. His resolution was that of the patriot. Forced to draw the sword, he drew it in behalf of his country. He repaired to the American camp, recruited his troop, and commenced a career which was destined to be as short as it was spirited. By a

sudden dash which he made upon the outpost of the enemy in the immediate neighborhood of Charlestown, he succeeded in making general Williamson a prisoner. This man was a traitor to the state, and his life was forfeited to the gallows. To rescue him from this probable fate, the British commandant in Charlestown ordered out his whole cavalry, which succeeded in overtaking the party of Hayne, dispersed it, and rescued Williamson. Colonel Hayne, unfortunately, fell also into their hands. He was carried to Charlestown and kept in close custody, until Rawdon, leaving Stewart at Orangeburg, arrived in the city. He was then brought before a court of inquiry. The members of the court upon this examination were not sworn, nor were the witnesses; yet, in consequence of this examination, "Lord Rawdon and the commandant, lieutenant colonel Nesbitt Balfour, resolved upon his execution, for having been found under arms, and employed in raising a regiment to oppose the British government, though he had become a subject, and accepted the protection of that government after the reduction of Charlestown."

Such were the terms and reasons for this sentence, which was ordered to be carried into effect two days after. This sudden, unlooked-for, and unjust sentence, was equally unexpected by the prisoner himself and by the citizens. It was not supposed that a mere court of inquiry could be resolved into one of final trial and condemnation. The men of the city pleaded in his behalf, the women petitioned in person, and implored on bended knees for remission of the sentence; but Rawdon and Balfour were inexorable.

The hurts of vanity, the disappointments of ambition, the defeat of all their plans of conquest, and the constant advance and frequent successes of the victorious Americans, made them vindictive and merciless. Perhaps, too,—though this is not suffered to appear in the proceedings—Hayne was only a chosen sacrifice to the manes of major Andre. The unhappy man was less moved than his fellow citizens and friends. He saw and conversed with them with Christian cheerfulness, and the resolute bearing of the soldier. To a friend, the evening before his death, he declared himself to be “no more alarmed at the thoughts of death, than at any other occurrence which was necessary and unavoidable.” He requested the existing authorities to accommodate the mode of his execution to a soldier’s feelings; but this was denied him. The proceedings in his case were obviously parallel to those of Andre. Attended by thousands of spectators, gloomy and sad as by an impending calamity to themselves, he walked to the place of doom. His carriage was firm, manly and unostentatious. To his eldest son, a boy about thirteen years of age, on the morning of the fatal day, he delivered all the papers which were connected with his fate, and gave his final instructions as to the disposition of his remains. Ascending the fatal eminence of death, he parted from his friends with the simple assurance that he would endeavor to show them “how an American should die;” and with that unshaken resolution which had distinguished his deportment throughout the painful scene, he himself gave the signal which hurried him into eternity. He died in a manner becoming the martyr to his country’s freedom. His he-

roism in death, extorted from his enemies the confession that "if he did not die in a good cause, he must, at least, have acted from a persuasion of its being so."

The execution of such a man as colonel Hayne, under such circumstances, and with so little show of justice, was not an event to escape the consideration of the American general, or to pass from the memories of the Carolinians. Unsatisfied by the explanations that were offered by the British commander, Greene declared his purpose of retaliation on all such British officers as should fall into his hands,—a declaration which was induced by the voluntary self devotion of all the officers of the southern army. These brave men met together and addressed to him a memorial, in which, after declaring what had reached their ears of the enormous cruelties practiced by the British, and of the bloody execution which has just been recorded, they recommend measures of immediate retaliation by a similar treatment of all British subjects; avowing their perfect readiness to abide by a recommendation which, in the event of capture, at once placed themselves entirely without the pale of mercy from the enemy. "But," concludes this noble document; "we had rather commit ourselves to the most desperate situations, than prosecute this just and necessary war upon terms so dishonorable."

Fortunately for the cause of humanity, but a little time elapsed after this, when the policy of the war rendered unnecessary the adoption of such rigorous measures. Still, the American general wore the countenance of one who was inflexible in his determination. A very few days after the execution of Hayne, Marion's cavalry captured



three British officers with an enemy's party; and the affair of the Eutaws, which will be recorded in the next chapter, placed in the hands of Greene, a prisoner sufficiently distinguished to awaken all the apprehensions of Balfour for his safety.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Colonel Stewart, whom lord Rawdon had left in command of the British army, had been watched by the American commander with intense anxiety. In command of nearly three thousand troops, he was too strong to apprehend any assault from a force so poorly provided, and so feeble in most respects, as that of the Americans ; and, but for discontents among his men, and the great fatigues to which his new Irish regiments had been subjected before reaching him, he would have been in good condition to turn upon the steps of Greene. Some weeks elapsed before Stewart was ready for a movement of any kind, and during this time the American general was held in suspense as to his future objects. Not doubting, however, that the necessity of providing for his army would carry his adversary to the banks either of the Congaree or Santee, measures were taken for the removal of all the provisions upon the northern side of both these rivers. This proceeding necessarily increased the resources of the American, while diminishing those of the British army.

When Stewart moved, he took post amidst the hills near the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree. Here the two armies lay in sight of each other's fires ; but the heat of the weather precluded operations of any kind, and, as if by mutual consent, their swords remained undrawn in their scabbards for a season. The intervention

of two large rivers, secured them equally from sudden attack, and their labors were confined to the watching of each other, to the capturing of convoys, and the conquest of detachments and foraging parties. In this service, the Americans soon proved their superior activity.

Greene, speaking of his cavalry in these expeditions, asserts them to be unexcelled by any in the world. Washington was detached down the country across the Santee, and soon made himself felt in the capture of two bodies of the enemy's horse. Lee, crossing the Congaree with his cavalry, penetrated between the main body of the British army and the post at Orangeburg, and in sight of the latter place, drove in, dispersed and captured several of their detachments. No inequality of numbers seem, at this time, to have impaired their confidence in themselves or lessened their courage; and such was their audacity, that the enemy was compelled to send out large detachments from his main body for the protection of his convoys. For every wagon load of provisions, he paid the price in blood. Equally active with these officers, were Marion, Mayhem and Harden, in covering the country below. The embarrassments produced by these united operations, the great difficulty of procuring provisions, and the necessity of lessening his main army to strengthen his posts below, in order to cover his communications between Orangeburg and Charlestown, rendered the position of the British commander particularly uncomfortable.

A movement of Greene, and the concentration of most of the detachments of the Americans, at a general rendezvous, determined the movements of colonel Stewart.

Falling back upon his re-inforcements and convoys, he took a post forty miles from his late position, at the Eutaw springs. He was followed by colonel Lee, who was pushed forward to watch his movements, while general Pickens, with the state militia, advanced with a similar object, in the neighborhood of the enemy's post at Orangeburg. The main army of the Americans, meanwhile, crossed the Congaree, moving slowly down the south bank, toward the post at Motte's, where Greene, having resolved upon a discontinuance of the pursuit, determined to await the progress of events.

This resolution, as it seemed to indicate a want of confidence in the American commander, encouraged the British. Halting upon his ground at Eutaw, he prepared to meet and fight his enemy. Withdrawing the garrison from Orangeburg, (which he established at Fairlawn,) he called in to his aid that which had been maintained at the latter post as a foil to Marion. This movement he was enabled to make in consequence of the disappearance of the "swamp fox," who, in one of his secret expeditions, had rapidly crossed the country to Pon Pon, where colonel Harden was closely pressed by a British force of five hundred men. To pass through both lines of the British communication with Charlestown; to surprise, defeat and disperse this force, numerically superior to his own; to return by the same route, pass the Santee, put his prisoners in safety; then advance upon the Eutaw, in order to a closer co-operation with the army under Greene;—was but the work of a few days and of ordinary labor with this able warrior. The junction of Marion with Greene, preceded by a brief interval of time the advance of the American commander upon the foe.



The memorable battle of Eutaw springs, was fought on the 8th of September, 1781. The number of the Americans, rank and file, was about two thousand. That of the British, was something more than two thousand three hundred. The day was fair, and intensely hot ; but the battle opened in a wood, the shade of which afforded some relief to the combatants. At four o'clock in the morning, the American army moved in four columns from its bivouac. The state troops of South Carolina, with Lee's legion, formed the advance, under command of colonel Henderson. The militia of South and North Carolina, under Marion, followed next. Then came the regulars under general Sumner. The rear was closed by Washington's cavalry, and Kirkwood's Delawares, under colonel Washington. So completely had the detached parties of the Americans cut off those of the British, that the advance of their army was unsuspected. The only patrol had been captured during the night ; and so entirely secure did Stewart esteem himself in his position, that an unarmed party of an hundred men, had been sent out to gather sweet potatoes. Two deserters from Greene's army, conveyed to the British commander the first intelligence of the approach of the Americans, and captain Coffin, at the head of his cavalry, was sent out, as well to recall the potatoe "rooting party," as to reconnoitre. The American advance, when encountered, was immediately charged by Coffin, with a confidence which showed his ignorance of its strength and of the greater force of which it was the precursor. He was repulsed ; the firing alarmed the potatoe diggers,

who all fell into the hands of the Americans. In the mean time, Stewart pushed forward a detachment of infantry to keep the Americans employed, while he prepared for battle. But Greene, persuaded by the audacity of Coffin that the whole British force was at hand, proceeded to form where the encounter took place. The column of militia, when displayed, formed the first line; the South Carolinians in equal divisions on the right and left, and the North Carolinians in the centre. Marion commanded the right, Pickens the left, and colonel Malmedy the centre. Henderson, with the state troops, including Sumter's brigade, covered the left of this line, and Lee, with his legion, the right. The column of regulars, also, displayed in one line. The North Carolinians, under general Sumner, occupied the right; the Marylanders, under colonel Williams, the left; the Virginians the centre, under colonel Campbell. The artillery, consisting of four pieces, was equally distributed with the two lines. Washington's cavalry, under cover of the woods, formed the reserve. In this order the Americans advanced to the battle. When the first line reached the advanced parties of the British, it was ordered to move on in order, driving them before it. In this manner, firing as it advanced, it went resolutely forward, while the enemy sunk back and found shelter in their own line.

About two hundred rods west of the Eutaw springs, the British army was drawn up in a single line, extending from the Eutaw creek beyond the main Congaree road. The creek covered their right; the left was supported by Coffin's cavalry, and a detachment of infantry, held in reserve under cover of the wood. The ground on which

the British army was displayed, was altogether in wood ; but at a small distance in their rear was a cleared field, extending west, south and east from the dwelling house, and bounded north by the creek flowing from the springs.

This creek is a bold one, having a high bank, thickly bordered with brush and undergrowth. From the house to this bank, ran a garden enclosed with palisadoes, and the windows of the house, which was two stories high, with garret rooms, commanded the whole surrounding fields. The house was strongly built of brick, and surrounded with various offices of wood ; one of which, a barn of some size, lay to the south east, a small distance from the principal building. The Americans approached from the west. Their great superiority in cavalry, made the house a point of great importance to the British commander, who gave orders to major Sheridan to occupy it at the first symptom of defeat, and to cover the army from the upper windows. On the right he had made a like cautious provision. Major Majoribanks was posted in the thickets bordering the creek, with three hundred picked troops, to watch the flank of the Americans, should it be opened at any time to attack. The British artillery was posted in the main road.

The disappearance of the skirmishing parties from the main opposing bodies, was the signal for a desperate and steady conflict. The militia of the first American line rushed with shouts into the hottest of the enemy's fire, even after their artillery had been demolished. Their valor and unflinching perseverance amidst the continual falling of their comrades around them, was the admiration of both armies. They did not falter until it

was impossible for human courage longer to continue a conflict which human wisdom could no longer approve. They had fired seventeen rounds before they hesitated, and were then succored by the North Carolinians, under Sumner. With the appearance of Sumner's relief, colonel Stewart brought up the infantry of his reserve into line on his left, and the struggle between these fresh troops began with renewed fury. At length Sumner's brigade, after sustaining the conflict with numbers far superior to their own, fell back also. Elated at this result, and conceiving the victory to be now sure, the British rushed forward in pursuit, and their line became deranged in consequence. At this important crisis, the American commander issued his orders to colonel Williams, who remained in command of the second line, to advance and sweep the field with his bayonets. This order was promptly obeyed. The two brigades received it with a shout, and advanced with a degree of impatience which scarcely heeded the deliberate and measured guidance of their officers. When within forty yards of the enemy, the Virginians of the line delivered a destructive fire, and the whole body, with trailed arms, rushed forward to the charge, through showers of grape from the British artillery, and seemingly unmoved by the stream of fire that blazed incessantly before them. The advanced left of the enemy recoiled beneath the desperate resolution of this charge. Their disorder became visible, and was confirmed by the prompt movement of colonel Lee. Wheeling the legion infantry round from its position on the extreme right, he poured in upon the British left a close enfilading fire, and their confusion became irretrievable.



The centre and right of the British army still remained much more numerous than the American, and awaited the threatened charge with a constancy that seemed unshaken. But the disorder and flight of the left had its effect upon the other divisions of the army ; and the pressure of the fugitives from the left, upon the centre, imparted a portion of their panic to the rest of their companions. The advance of the Marylanders, at this lucky moment, helped to increase the confusion of the foe. They delivered their fire with deliberation and fatal effect, and along their whole front the enemy yielded.

Completely triumphant, as they now supposed themselves, the Americans pressed forward to prevent the British from rallying, and to cut them off from the brick house, to which the fugitives naturally turned their eyes. Successful in this, the victory would have been complete. The great loss which the enemy had sustained, must have compelled his surrender, unless he could secure this shelter, which was now his object. It was in striving to defeat this object, that the Americans sustained their greatest loss ; and the affair which so far had promised a glorious victory, ended in the complete disappointment of the conquering army, and the temporary defeat of its proudest hopes.

At this stage of the battle, Majoribanks still stood firm in the thickets which covered him. General Greene saw that he must be dislodged from a position which would soon enable him to renew the fight with disadvantage to the Americans. Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, was dispatched on this duty ; but, on attempting a charge, he found that he could not penetrate the thicket

with his horse. An attempt to gain the enemy's rear, brought upon him a destructive fire, which slew many of his men and horses, and drove the rest in confusion. He was succeeded by colonel Hampton; and Kirkwood's infantry, with their bayonets, rushing at the same time to revenge their companions, succeeded in expelling the British from this strong position. But Majoribanks retired slowly, still holding on to the thickets, and making for a new position, of nearly equal strength, behind the palisadoes of the garden.

Here the British army had partly rallied, though nothing could well exceed the alarm in their encampment. Every thing was given up for lost. The commissaries destroyed their stores; the numerous retainers of the army, mostly loyalists and deserters, who dreaded falling into the hands of the Americans, seizing the horses wherever they might be found, fled in terror, carrying consternation where they went, even down to the gates of Charlestown. Their alarm might not have been groundless, had it not been for the misfortunes of the Americans, in the losses of Washington's cavalry, and the rash pursuit, by the infantry, of the disordered British. So severely had Washington's command suffered in the affair with Majoribanks, that but two of his officers could return into the action. The colonel himself had his horse shot under him, and owed his life to the clemency of a British officer.

By the time that Majoribanks had gained the palisadoes, Sheridan had thrown himself into the house, and some of the routed companies from the British left, had made good their retreat into the picketed garden, from the in-

tervals of which, they could fire with security and effect. The whole British line was now in full flight before the American bayonet. Their retreat lay directly through their own encampment, where their tents were all standing, and a thousand objects scattered around in grateful profusion, which, to the famished troops of Greene, were too tempting to be withstood. Fatigued and almost naked, panting with heat and suffering from thirst—at the same time believing their victory to be secure,—the pursuing Americans fell into acts of insubordination, to which the fire of the British from the contiguous houses eminently contributed. The shelter of the tents from this fire, became an excuse, of which these brave men did not scruple to avail themselves. Here the American line got into irretrievable confusion. Its officers, nearly abandoned by their soldiers, became conspicuous marks for the British party, who now poured their fire from the windows of the house. In vain did they seek to rescue their men from the baneful consequences which had followed their entrance into the encampment. They had dispersed without order among the tents, had fastened upon the intoxicating liquors, and had now become utterly unmanageable.

The British officers availed themselves promptly of this miserable condition of things. Majoribanks and Coffin made simultaneous movements; the one from his thicket on the left, the other from the wood on the right of the American line. Greene soon saw the dangers that threatened him, and issued orders to Lee, of the legion, to fall upon Coffin. In the absence of Lee, major Eggleston, with a detachment of the legion cavalry, pro-

ceeded to obey, but was repulsed by Coffin, who immediately after hastened to charge the rear of the Americans, now dispersed among the tents. Here, however, he encountered Hampton, and, by him, was successfully charged and beaten in turn. A sharp fight resulted in Coffin's retiring from the conflict. A moment after, the command of Hampton was almost annihilated by a fire from the picketed garden, where Majoribanks had concealed himself. This skillful officer, to whom the British army chiefly owed its safety, having scattered the cavalry of Hampton, proceeded to the performance of another movement, which was decisive of the strife.

The British artillery, which had been captured by the Americans, had been brought up and opened upon the brick house, where the enemy were strongly sheltered. Unfortunately, in the hurry of the fight, the pieces had been brought too near the house, and were commanded by its fire, which very soon killed or disabled all the artillerymen. Majoribanks, as soon as he had scattered the cavalry of Hampton, sallied into the field, re-captured the pieces, and hurried them under cover. Then, being re-inforced by parties from the house and garden, he charged the Americans scattered among the tents, and drove them before him. They found safety only in the cover of the wood where the army of Greene had rallied; and the British, too much crippled to venture into conflict beyond the shelter of the houses, slowly fell back upon their position.

Thus ended the severe battle of the Eutaw, in which both parties claimed the honors of the victor. There is no difficulty in settling the question between them. The



British were driven from the field of battle at the edge of the bayonet, and took refuge in a fortress. So closely had they been pressed, and so narrow was their escape, that a forward party of the Americans were only prevented from entering with them, by a precipitate closing of the doors in the face of some of their own officers and men, who were taken prisoners in consequence, and interposed by the captors as shields for the protection of their persons while retreating under the mouths of the musketry which lined its windows. The Americans were simply repulsed from a fortress to which they had driven their enemy in fear and with great slaughter. That the Americans should have completed their victory by taking the house, is undeniable. This must have been the case, had they not yielded to the temptation presented to their wistful eyes by the unknown luxuries of a British encampment. The spoils of the enemy proved more fatal to their virtue, and, in consequence, to their victory, than his weapons had done to their lives. The reproach of losing a victory within their grasp, is greater than if they had suffered defeat. The last may be due to fortune, to unequal strength, to a thousand influences beyond the courage, the conduct, or the skill of man. The first can only arise from his wilfulness, his vices, or his misconduct.

That the Americans fought well, and conquered while they fought, is undeniable; that they did not complete their conquest, is a reproach, painfully increased in its severity, by the reflection, that their failure was followed by an unhappy loss of valuable lives, which otherwise might have united in the shout of triumph with

the survivors. Among these victims, was the gallant colonel Campbell, who fell a moment before the final charge of the Americans which drove the British from the field at the point of the bayonet. The shouts of victory revived him in his dying moments. He demanded the cause of the shouting, and being told that the enemy was in full flight and utterly routed, exclaimed, with the holy satisfaction of the patriot soldier, "I die contented." These were his last words.

## CHAPTER XXV.

In this severe engagement, the Americans made five hundred prisoners; and if farther proof were needed to establish their claim to victory, it was found in the events of the succeeding day. Colonel Stewart, leaving his dead unburied, and seventy of his wounded to the humanity of Greene, breaking the stocks of one thousand stand of arms, and destroying his stores, abandoned his position and retreated with precipitation before his enemy. The Americans advanced within five miles of him, to Ferguson's swamp, where he made his first halt. It was Greene's intention to have renewed the action the next day; and he dispatched Marion and Lee to watch the line of communication between the Eutaws and Fairlawn, where the British had a strong force, under colonel McArthur, in order to prevent the junction of this body with the enemy's main army. The simultaneous movements of the two corps, enabled them to meet at mid distance, and to out number the American detachment. By this movement, their junction was secured the evening of the day after the battle, and their retreat immediately continued. Greene pressed the pursuit during the whole of one day, but without success. The escape of Stewart was secured for the time, and the American general was compelled to forego his object and yield his earliest attention to the prisoners and wounded in his hands.

But though Stewart succeeded in escaping from his pursuers, the British power in South Carolina was completely prostrated by the battle of Eutaw. He had lost in killed, wounded and missing, nearly one half of the force which he brought into action. The British regulars lost something more than this, in the failure of their charm of power,—their reputed invincibility. Their regulars had been foiled with their own peculiar weapon, the bayonet; and, perhaps, almost entirely owed their safety to the sharp shooting of native Americans, by whom their ranks were too much filled from the beginning; and who, in almost all their victories, made a numerous and efficient part of their armies. By a very inferior force had they been driven from the field, and their courage fell in proportion to the daily increase of confidence, in their own prowess, on the part of the Americans. Nothing seemed wanting to make the American soldiers as good as any in the world, but a moderate length of practice, and frequent exercise in actual conflict.

The losses of Greene had also been severe in a very great degree. His officers, in particular, had suffered dreadfully, chiefly in consequence of their exposure from the fire of the house, in their vain attempts to rescue their intoxicated soldiers from the British tents. Thin as the American regiments had ever been, they were always deficient in officers. In this bloody affair, no less than sixty-one had been killed and wounded. Twenty-one of these, including colonel Campbell, had died upon the field of battle. The loss of British officers was also very severe, but less than that of their enemies. Major Majoribanks, who had so highly distinguished himself



during the day, died on the march to Charlestown. The spot where he lies buried, is still shown upon the roadside. The rest of the British wounded narrowly escaped capture by Marion. This vigilant and ever restless captain, understanding that they had been shipped at Fairlawn for Charlestown, descended the country rapidly by night, and would have intercepted them, but for a slave of one of the plantations, who gave intelligence of his movements to the British camp. This brought out a strong detachment against him, and he was compelled, in turn, to steal away and avoid interception.

Returning from the pursuit of Stewart, Greene recrossed the Santee, and resumed his position at the Hills. Feeble as his army had ever been, it was now destined to become still more so. His militia soon left him. Of the North Carolinians, but one hundred remained, and their term of service was near expiring. Marion, Pickens and Hampton, with the South Carolina militia, were necessarily detached to cover the country; and with the continentals alone, he had to discharge all the painful and fatiguing services required by six hundred wounded, half of whom were prisoners. Exposure in the swamps, at a sickly season of the year, had brought upon his army the diseases of the climate; and without medicine, or comforts of any kind, the whole camp exhibited a scene of the utmost misery and destitution. Numbers of brave fellows perished in a condition of wretchedness, only surpassed by such as distinguished the plague hospitals of the east. Ten days after the battle of Eutaw, the American general would have found it impossible to muster at head quarters, a thousand men fit for action.

Meanwhile, intelligence reached the south that Cornwallis contemplated a return from Virginia to Carolina by land. A movement of colonel Stewart, about this time, seemed to confirm the truth of this intelligence. That officer, having recruited his army by all the available troops which he could gather from below, and having strengthened his cavalry until it became far superior to that of the Americans, once more advanced to the Eutaws. This movement served to drive the several American detachments of Marion and Hampton across the Santee; and had the British continued their advance with vigor, it is not improbable, in the reduced and miserable condition of Greene's army, that they would have regained the ground, if not the influence, which they had lost in the late affair. But it was remarked that they no longer acted with their ancient vigor. They had lost the assurance of victory, which their first successes had inspired, and which had made them confident. They now exhibited a readiness to flee, on the first show of danger, as much like, and as little creditable, as that which had distinguished and disgraced the conduct of the American militia, when taking their first lessons in warfare.

The audacity which they had lost, seemed now to be the characteristic of the Americans. The detachments of the latter presented themselves before their strong holds, taunted them by the boldest daring, but failed to bring them forth. Mayhem, of Marion's brigade, while, at a subsequent period, the British lay at Monk's Corner, captured one of their posts and took eighty prisoners, in the face of their whole army.

The advance of the British to the Eutaws, did not result on their part in any increase of vigor or activity. Its command had devolved upon a major Doyle, during the illness of colonel Stewart, who was suffering from a wound received at Eutaw. This officer took post at Fludd's plantation, three miles above Nelson's ferry. His army, recruited from the British and loyalist forces in Charlestown, was still more than two thousand men, not including a body of three hundred, stationed at Fairlawn, under major McArthur. This force, so superior to that of Greene, gave to the enemy the undivided command of the country to the south of the Santee and Congaree, and westward to the Edisto.

But this superiority was not of long continuance.—The diligence of Greene and his officers, and the patriotism of the soldiers, served to sustain them in their position, amidst every form of privation and suffering, and gradually to restore their strength. The army was recruited by colonels Shelby and Sevier, with five hundred men, and the infantry received an accession of one hundred and sixty recruits from North Carolina. The artillery destroyed in the battle of Eutaw, had been replaced from Virginia; the wounded survivors had been recovered, and the cavalry, that most essential part of an army in a level and thinly settled country, was rapidly accumulating under the several commands of Sumter, Marion, Horry, Mayhem and others. In two months from the battle of Eutaw, the American general was in a capacity to act. Marion, having under him Sevier, Shelby, Horry and Mayhem, with their respective divisions, was ordered to operate

between the Santee and Charlestown. Sumter, with his brigade of state troops, and some companies from his militia brigade, was ordered to take post at Orangeburg and defend the country against the loyalists from the city ; while Pickens, with two regiments, maintained the frontier from the Indians, and covered it against the predatory warfare which still raged in that quarter.

The commands of Sumter and Marion crossed the rivers in the beginning of November, and advanced upon the enemy. The former soon fell in with a strong party of the loyalists under general Cunningham, who had advanced upon Orangeburg, and one of his officers, a major Morris, suffered himself to fall into an ambuscade, in which he sustained some loss. The forces of Sumter and Cunningham being nearly equal, operated as mutual checks upon each other. Cunningham, who had issued from Charlestown on a pillaging expedition in the upper country, was checked in his progress ; while Sumter, to continue this restraint upon his enemy, and maintain himself in safety, fell back for the present, and secured himself by a careful selection of position. The progress of Marion was also arrested, in consequence of his encountering at Wantoot, the whole army of Stewart, who was at this time busy in ravaging the country, laying in provisions for sustaining a siege on Charleston, and accumulating that plunder with which their fleet of three hundred sail was laden when they subsequently took flight from the waters of Cooper river.

About this time, the news was received by both armies, of the fall of Cornwallis in Virginia. To the British in Carolina, it was ominous of that fate which the unrelaxing



energies of Greene, and the determined valor of the troops under him, seemed resolved to hasten ; and in anticipation of this event, the British commander, as if no longer confident in his arms, was preparing to convert his soldiers into mere marauders. In the short period which followed the return of major Doyle with the British army to the Eutaws, he had succeeded in plundering the country on the Santee and Congaree, of every negro, and of almost every thing else in the shape of property, that could be carried away. But that Marion and Hampton guarded the opposite banks of these rivers, their ravages would have extended far beyond these comparatively narrow limits.

The intelligence of the surrender of Yorktown, reached the camp of Greene about the last of October. The day was observed as a jubilee in camp, and the grateful tidings gave a new impulse to the desire of the American general to cross the rivers which separated him from his enemy, and drive him down to the sea. This object had now become one of infinite importance, in order that the elections might be held as generally throughout the state, as possible, for the legislature. The re-establishment of the civil authority was of the last importance to the country, as well as to the army. The former was without laws, and had been exposed to a jurisdiction as various and wild as the passions of the several and conflicting parties by whom, at successive periods, it had been held in possession. The latter was suffering from every species of want.

“Our situation,” says Greene, in a letter immediately after the battle of Eutaw, “is truly deplorable in the

quarter master's and ordnance departments. We have no ammunition, and not half tents enough; few camp kettles, and no axes, and until very lately, no canteens."

Add to this, the want of clothes to cover their nakedness, the want of salt to season their food, and the want of physic to heal their sick, and the patriotism of the American general and his troops will derive its highest honors from their condition.

On the 18th of November, the camp at the Hills was broken up, and the American army again put in motion. As the route to be pursued led the army off from the support of Marion, who was charged with guarding its left while on its march, captain Eggleston, with the legion and a detachment from the Virginians, was dispatched to strengthen him. The main army took up the line of march on the route by Simmon's and McCord's ferries, through Orangeburg, to Riddlespurger's; thence by the Indianfield road to Ferguson's mill, where that road crosses the Edisto—the intention of the American general being apparently to gain a position on Four Holes, for the double purpose of covering the country beyond him, and controlling the movements of the enemy on his right. Another object in this movement was, to intercept the flight of the British to Savannah,—intelligence having been received by Marion, from Charleston, that such was their intention.

It was in the confident belief that the force of Marion was adequate to keep in check that of the enemy under Stewart, that Greene ventured to place himself in a position which left him particularly exposed to an attack from Charlestown. To the great astonishment of Marion,

no less than of the commander-in-chief, the mountaineers under Shelby and Sevier—upon the strength of whose re-inforcement he had ventured into the field—on a sudden deserted him after three weeks service. This desertion was, with some probability, attributed to the departure of their colonel, Shelby, who had obtained leave of absence. Something, too, has been said of the service not being sufficiently active for their habits; but reasons such as these furnish a poor apology for soldiers, who, in the cause of their country's liberty, should be well pleased to encounter any sort of service which it may be the policy of their commander to impose. Marion had endeavored to find them sufficient employment. He had approached and defied the enemy, but could neither tempt nor provoke him to leave his encampment. With numbers decidedly inferior, the brave partisan was chagrined to find it impossible to bring his enemy into the field; and the only services in which he was able to employ his mountaineers, were in attacks on the post at Fairlawn, and on the redoubts at Wappetaw. Detachments of about two hundred of them, supported by Mayhem's cavalry, were, in both instances, commanded by Shelby. Wappetaw was abandoned at their approach. The attack at Fairlawn was made while the enemy lay at Wantoot. In passing this post, Marion showed himself, but did not succeed in decoying the British cavalry into the field. At Fairlawn the attack was successful. The place surrendered at discretion, and the whole garrison, with three hundred stand of arms, stores and provisions, fell into the hands of the Americans. The house with its contents, and the abbatis, were committed to the flames.

The desertion of the mountaineers, who formed so large a portion of Marion's command, might have been of the most pernicious consequence to the several divisions of the American army, but for the alarm which the movement of Greene across the Congaree, had occasioned in the mind of Stewart. Greene had advanced too far to recede; Marion had passed the Santee, and any disaster to him would have compelled an immediate retreat of the main army, to avoid worse consequences. The ignorance of the British commander of the real condition of his foe, and, perhaps, a consciousness of his own weakness—of which the Americans were equally ignorant at the time—by prompting his retreat towards Charlestown, induced Greene to undertake an enterprise calculated to confirm the enemy's fears of the American strength, and, by forcing him into Charlestown, without risking an action, to get the entire command of the state.

With this object, he left the army on its march, under the command of colonel Williams; and at the head of two hundred cavalry, and as many infantry, moved briskly towards Dorchester. The cavalry consisted of Lee's and Washington's, and one hundred men drawn from the command of Sumter. The infantry were those of the legion, and detachments from the lines of Maryland and Virginia. The command of this detachment was given to colonel Wade Hampton. Greene flattered himself with the hope of being able to surprise the post at Dorchester; but the enemy received notice of his approach, and lay upon their arms all night. Not seeing the Americans appear as soon as they expected,



the British sent forth a party of fifty for intelligence. Hampton's advanced guard encountered the party, and but few were suffered to escape. So close was the pursuit of the survivors pressed, to the enemy's post, that the whole cavalry of the British army, which, with a strong detachment of infantry, had been sent to re-inforce that post, issued out to charge the pursuing party. To cut off this corps was a leading desire with Greene, and he saw their approach with the most pleasurable anticipations. But they recoiled and fled from the fierce onset of Hampton's horse. Twenty or thirty were slain, wounded or taken; and such an alarm did the presence of Greene in person, excite among them, under the belief that his whole army was at hand, that the garrison, during the night, destroyed every thing,—threw their cannon into the river, and made a rapid retreat to Charlestown. Greene did not dare to pursue, for the infantry of the enemy alone exceeded five hundred.

This manœuvre had all the effect which was intended. The panic of the enemy increased, their outposts were all abandoned, and their whole force concentrated at the quarter house, about six miles from Charlestown. Here, where the isthmus is narrow, the fugitives were halted and joined by general Stewart, who, meanwhile, had been hurrying with all speed, by another route, toward the city.

General Leslie, who now succeeded Stewart, made every preparation for immediate attack. The fears of the fugitives from Dorchester, had magnified the force of Greene to something more than three thousand men, at a time when that brave commander could not muster at

head quarters more than eight hundred. The force under Leslie was scarcely less than five thousand; yet he deemed it necessary, in the general panic, to resort to a measure which must sufficiently have testified his own fears, while it awakened, to the keenest poignancy, those of the remaining inhabitants. He embodied in regiments the numerous slaves who had been drawn from the neighboring plantations, and who had been crowded into the city as a part of that plunder with which the providence of the British commanders had prepared to console themselves for a flight which now appeared to be inevitable.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Driven in from all their outposts, the British were confined in their operations, to the city, the Neck, and the neighboring islands. The object of general Greene, and all that he could effect, in the thin and unprovided condition of his army, was attained ; and governor Rutledge convened the legislature of the state at Jacksonborough, a little village on the Edisto river, about twenty miles from the sea, and thirty-five from the city of Charlestown.

This event, which once more restored the forms of civil government to the state, after an interregnum of nearly two years, took place in January, 1782. It was originally arranged by the governor and common council, to convene it at Camden ; but general Greene, after his excursion to Dorchester, having reconnoitered the country between the Edisto and Ashley, and found it possessed of sufficient military advantages to admit of his covering Jacksonborough with his little army from danger and insult, warmly recommended the adoption of the latter place in preference to all others for the assembling of the delegates ; since the re-establishment of the civil authority so near the British garrison, would, more conclusively than any other event, short of the absolute expulsion of the foe, confirm the evidence of a complete recovery of the state. The army, in the meantime, took post at the plantation of colonel Skirving, six miles below Jacksonborough, and on the road leading to Charlestown.

But before the place could be put in perfect security, Greene conceived it necessary to drive the British from John's island, one of the inner chain of islands which stretch along the coast from Charlestown to Savannah, separated from the main by creeks and marshes, and from each other by estuaries of the rivers, generally denominated sounds and inlets. John's and James' islands, with the city and the Neck, were now the only footholds left to the British, of all their conquests in South Carolina.

On John's island, which is secure, fertile and extensive, they maintained a force of five hundred men, under colonel Craig. The island was also guarded at all accessible points, by gallies carrying heavy guns. These gallies, at a favorable time of the tide, might easily approach Jacksonborough, which is not beyond striking distance from John's island; while the communication with Charlestown being open through James Island, made it easy for the British, unperceived, to throw re-inforcements into the former. Greene resolved to drive the enemy from this important position. It was soon ascertained, not only that the island was accessible, but that the British, unapprehensive of danger, were comparatively unprepared for attack. Laurens and Lee, knowing the desire of Greene, and having examined the approaches, solicited his permission to enter upon the undertaking. Their plan was to pass by night between the gallies, and surprise the force under Craig. There was one point between the Stono and Edisto, at which the island was formerly connected with the highland by a piece of hard marsh. To complete the inland communication between



Charlestown and Edisto, by the way of Stono, a canal had been cut through this marsh, and was known by the name of New Cut. At low water this is fordable, and to guard this pass, the British had moored two galleys at convenient distances; but to avoid exposure to grounding, they were placed in positions which were necessarily somewhat remote; and this circumstance suggested the project of passing between them.

Greene sanctioned the plan of these enterprising young officers, and the night of the 13th of January was fixed on for its execution. The main army moved on the 12th to Wallace's bridge, with the view of diverting the attention of the enemy from the real point of attack; while two light detachments, under the command of Laurens, crossing the country from Ashley river, waded the north branch of the Stono, and advanced to New Cut, which is at the head of the southern branch. The rest of the army was put in motion after dusk, and advanced to cover and support its detachment. Greene himself, reached the "cut" before the time of low water, at which, alone, the canal is fordable. Here he found his attacking party in strange embarrassment. The detachment of Lee and Laurens, forming separate columns on the march, had been led, the first by Lee, and the second by major Hamilton. Lee's column was in advance, and Laurens, as commander of the whole party, accompanying it in person. But Hamilton, through the desertion of his guide, lost his way to the ford, and his column was completely lost to the enterprise. The time for striking the blow had passed. The first column had crossed over to the island, but was necessarily recalled before the height

of the returning tide should cut off its retreat. The opportunity was thus lost of cutting off, by complete surprise, a force of five hundred of the enemy.

But the object could not be relinquished, and Greene ordered a boat on wagons from the Edisto, determined on forcing his passage to the island. The artillery was then brought to bear upon the galleys, and drove them from their stations; while Laurens, passing the "cut," penetrated to the encampment of the enemy.—But the latter did not wait for the assault. The alarm occasioned by the narrow escape of the morning, convinced him of the insecurity of his position; and taking counsel from his apprehensions rather than his valor, major Craig had already commenced his flight, in anticipation of the attack. A few prisoners only rewarded the rapidity of Laurens' movements; but the main object of Greene was attained, and without loss. This event completed the security of Jacksonborough, and left the government of the state, assembled within its walls, free in the unrestrained and fearless execution of the arduous and solemn duties devolving upon its hands.

The assembly met and formed a quorum on the day for which the members were summoned. The proclamation of the governor precluded all persons from suffrage and membership who had placed themselves under British protection, or were in any manner obnoxious to popular odium or suspicion. None but true and tried men were present, and these were mostly veterans—the brave men who had sustained the conflict with unremitting valor and unfailing fortitude from the beginning. But very few were present who had not drawn their weapons in the strife; and many appeared on this occasion, clad in armor, who

had stolen a brief respite from the labors of the field, that they might assist in the no less arduous toils of council. All had suffered, and many of them severely. A nobler assembly—one more distinguished for faith, integrity, wisdom and valor—was never yet convoked in the cause of a nation. The proceedings were opened by a speech from governor Rutledge, distinguished by the accustomed energy of manner and force of matter which characterized that orator. In the course of this speech, he gave a brief glance at the history of the war in the state. A portion of his picture we transfer to our pages, as summing up briefly, a thousand details which a more particular narration would make too voluminous for our limits.

“The enemy,” said he, “unable to make any impression upon the northern states, the number of whose inhabitants, and the strength of whose country, had baffled their repeated efforts, turned their views towards the southern, which a difference of circumstances afforded some expectation of conquering, or, at least, of greatly distressing. After a long resistance, the reduction of Charlestown was effected by the vast superiority of force with which it had been besieged. The loss of that garrison, as it consisted of the continental troops of Virginia and the Carolinas, and of a number of militia, facilitated the enemy’s march into the country; and their establishment of strong posts in the upper and interior parts of it, and the unfavorable issue of the action near Camden, induced them vainly to imagine that no other army could be collected which they might not easily defeat. The militia commanded by the brigadiers Marion and Sumter, whose enterprising spirit and unremitting perseverance

under many difficulties, are deserving of great applause, harassed and often defeated large parties ; but the numbers of these militia were too few to contend effectually with the collected strength of the enemy. Regardless, therefore, of the sacred ties of honor, destitute of the feelings of humanity, and determined to extinguish, if possible, every spark of freedom in this country, they, with the insolent pride of conquerors, gave unbounded scope to the exercise of their tyrannical dispositions, infringed their public engagements, and violated the most solemn capitulations. Many of our worthiest citizens were, without cause, long and closely confined, some on board of prison ships, and others in the town and castle of St. Augustine; their properties disposed of at the will and caprice of the enemy, and their families sent to a different and distant part of the continent, without the means of support. Many who had surrendered as prisoners of war were killed in cold blood ; several suffered death in the most ignominious manner, and others were delivered up to savages, and put to tortures under which they expired.

“Thus the lives, liberties, and properties of the people, were dependent solely on the pleasure of British officers, who deprived them of either, or all, on the most frivolous pretences. Indians, slaves, and a desperate banditti, of the most profligate character, were caressed and employed by the enemy to execute their infamous purposes. Devastation and ruin marked their progress and that of their adherents ; nor were their violences restrained by the charms or influence of beauty and innocence. Even the fair sex, whom it is the duty of all,



and the pride and pleasure of the brave, to protect, they, and their tender offspring, were victims to the inveterate malice of an unrelenting foe. Neither the tears of mothers, nor the cries of infants, could excite in their hearts pity or compassion. Not only the fearful habitations of the widow, the aged and the infirm, but the holy temples of the Most High, were consumed in flames kindled by their sacrilegious hands. They have tarnished the glory of the British arms, disgraced the profession of the British soldier, and fixed indelible stigmas of rapine, cruelty, perfidy and profaneness on the British name!

“But I can now congratulate you, and I do so most cordially, on the pleasing change of affairs, which, under the blessing of God, the wisdom, prudence, address and bravery of the great and gallant general Greene, and the intrepidity of the officers and men under his command, has been happily effected. His successes have been more rapid and complete than the most sanguine could have expected. The enemy, compelled to surrender or evacuate every post which they held in the country, frequently defeated and driven from place to place, are obliged to seek refuge under the walls of Charlestown, and on islands in its vicinity. We have now the full and absolute possession of every other part of the state, and the legislative, executive and judicial powers are in the free exercise of their respective authorities.”

The governor proceeded to recommend the embodiment of a regular force of state troops, and a re-organization of the militia. Another important matter which he suggested for their consideration, was the “conduct of such of our citizens as voluntarily avowing their alle-

giance, and even glorying in their professions of loyalty and attachment to his Britannic majesty, have offered their congratulations on the successes of his arms—prayed to be embodied as royal militia, accepted commissions in his service, and endeavored to subvert our constitution and establish his power in its stead; of those who have returned to the state in defiance of a law by which such return was declared to be a capital offence, and have abetted the British interest; and of such whose behavior has been so reprehensible that justice and policy forbid their free re-admission to the rights and privileges of citizens.”

“The extraordinary lenity of this state,” continues this address, “has been remarkably conspicuous. Other states have thought it just and expedient to appropriate the property of British subjects to the public use; but we have forborne to take even the profits of the estates of our most implacable enemies.”

Governor Rutledge concluded with recommending immediate attention to the currency, which had become worthless as a tender, and proposed to repeal the law by which it withdrew the legal sanction to its circulation.

The legislature proceeded to business in a spirit corresponding with that which the governor's speech had shown. Laws were passed for confiscating the property of certain persons, and banishing them from the state; for amercing the estates of others of whose personal services the country had been deprived. The preamble to the act of confiscation, relating the reasons which justified the measure, declared it to be a measure of retaliation for like confiscations made by the British author

ities of the property of the patriots. But the most efficacious reason for the adoption of this measure, was the necessity of the case. The state was wholly destitute of funds; no immediate resources could be had either by loan or taxation, and the estates of the loyalists presented the only means for establishing a fund upon which to build a temporary credit. The indulgence of the state authorities, subsequently released the rigor of this act in the case of many of the individuals upon whom it bore, whose names were stricken from the records which chronicled their shame and forfeiture.

The legislature, among other acts, originated a bill for vesting in general Greene, in consideration of his services, the sum of ten thousand guineas—a gift which furnished an example to the states of Georgia and North Carolina, which they promptly followed. The former voted him five thousand guineas, and the latter twenty-four thousand acres of land.

Governor Rutledge was succeeded in the executive chair of South Carolina by John Matthews. The office was tendered first to Christopher Gadsden, who declined it because of his infirmities and age. The military operations of the opposing forces seemed almost entirely suspended during the session of the legislature. The British were paralyzed, and never ventured from the cover of their strong hold, and the Americans were too feeble to attempt them there. The fall of Cornwallis, however, brought to Greene a small portion of the army which had been employed against him, under the command of the famous general Wayne, and he was enabled to assume a more active character in his operations.

He dispatched Wayne with a detachment to Georgia; and this general, by a series of small but sharp engagements, succeeded in circumscribing the movements of the British in that state to the limits of Savannah, as Greene, in South Carolina, had forced them within the walls of Charlestown. The subsequent evacuation of Savannah, filled the Carolinians with a lively hope that their chief city would also soon be rescued from the hands of the enemy. The British garrison at Savannah was added to that of Charlestown; while Wayne, having completed the duties upon which he had been sent to Georgia, re-united his division to the main army under Greene.

The successes of Greene's detachments operating on his left, were not so brilliant as those of Wayne. The brigade of Marion suffered some reverses, which were due only to a want of strength. The country from the Edisto to the Santee became thrown open in consequence, for a time, to the ravages of the enemy; and a party of loyalists, under the command of William Cunningham,—familiarily known by the epithet of "Bloody Bill Cunningham,"—escaped from the lower country and ascended the Saluda with a body of three hundred horse.

This movement was made in concert with the Cherokee Indians, and demanded all the vigilance of Pickens, who held watch upon the borders. Rapid as was the progress of this marauding party, their tracks were made every where in blood. But the whig hunters turned out with spirit, and under popular leaders the Tories were routed and dispersed. A portion of them fled to the Cherokees,



and drew upon the savages another chastisement, such as had already more than once thinned their warriors, destroyed their villages, and diminished their hunting grounds.

The daily extension of general Greene's troops to the southward and eastward, and the contraction of his cordon around the land limits of the British, soon began to be felt by general Leslie, their commander. His foraging ground became too small to yield a subsistence to the large numbers of horses which had accumulated within his lines, in consequence of his calling in his detachments, and he was reduced to the necessity, in order to relieve himself of this difficulty, of putting two hundred of these animals to death.

An alarm excited in the American camp, on the rumored approach of the enemy with strong re-inforcements, led to an order to Marion to repair to head quarters with all the force that he could gather. This command was promptly obeyed; but a detachment of mounted infantry was left at Monk's Corner, to watch the motions of the enemy, who, by means of Cooper river, had free access in their boats and gallies, to that neighborhood. To destroy this detachment in Marion's absence, a force of three hundred and fifty men were transported by water from Charlestown. The sudden return of Marion, with all his brigade, from the camp of Greene—an event quite unexpected by the enemy—enabled him partly to defeat their enterprise. His force did not equal that which was arrayed against him, but he nevertheless resolved upon attacking it. In order to detain the enemy, he dispatched colonels Richardson and Sevier, and a part of Mayhem's

horse, with orders to throw themselves in front of the British, and engage them until he should come up with the main body. The order was gallantly executed.—The British advance was charged and driven near St. Thomas' muster house, by captain Smith, of Mayhem's cavalry, and their leader, captain Campbell, with several others, fell in the flight. Unhappily, the pursuit was urged too warmly. The pursuers were met by captain Coffin, who, at the head of his cavalry, charged and dispersed them in turn. This event left Marion too weak to hazard an engagement, while the enemy were very well content to continue their march without attempting to force him to it.

The British expedition, by the timely interposition of Marion's force, resulted in nothing more than their capture of a small number of cattle, with which they retired across Wappetaw to Haddrill's Point, where, and at Hobcaw, they had established posts to facilitate the movements of strong parties which were continually alert in procuring provisions, the want of which began to be felt in the garrison.

The brigade of Marion had always been one of the most efficient in the service, at once remarkable for the vigilance and the valor of its officers and men. Unhappily, however, a question of precedence with respect to rank, arose between two of the former, both of them highly distinguished as leaders, and particularly esteemed by their commander. These were colonels Horry and Mayhem. During the absence of Marion, in attendance upon the legislature, the command was given to Horry; upon which preference—a preference due to the seniority

of the latter as an officer—Mayhem separated his corps from the brigade, which lay at Wambaw, posted them higher up the river, and then proceeded to the legislature, of which he was also a member. In this affair colonel Mayhem was unquestionably in fault. Greene and Marion endeavored to reconcile the discontented officer, but without success; and while the dispute was pending, and, perhaps, in consequence of the withdrawal of Mayhem's horse from the command of Horry, the latter was surprised by a strong detachment of infantry, artillery and cavalry, under colonel Thomson,—afterwards more renowned and generally known as count Rumford—and the brigade dispersed. On hearing this intelligence, Marion put himself at the head of Mayhem's regiment, which he had reached but a few hours before, and hurried on towards Wambaw, the scene of the surprise, to check the enemy and collect the fugitives. Arrived within five miles of the British, he halted to refresh his men and horses, and while the latter were unbitted and feeding, the whole of the enemy's cavalry made their appearance.

If the Americans were unprepared for the encounter—and it was Mayhem's opinion that a charge of the British, if ordered immediately on coming into view, would have dispersed the regiment—the enemy seemed as little disposed to take advantage of their surprise. Seeing that they not only halted, but exhibited appearances of indecision and alarm, Marion, though with a force only half as numerous, resolved to attack them. The indecision of the British had allowed the Americans full time to mount their horses and recover; and they moved to the extremity of a lane, through which they were to

issue, with a firm and fearless countenance. Though greatly fewer in number than the foe, the Americans were better mounted ; and frequent exercise and repeated successes, had inspired them with a confidence in themselves which almost made them heedless of any odds. But they were destined, by one of those counter events which disturb and defeat equally the hopes and the calculations of men, to lose "a glorious opportunity," in the language of Marion, "of cutting up the British cavalry."

The front section was led by an officer of approved courage, who, in a very recent affair, had signally distinguished himself. It is Napoleon, however, who says "that every man has his moment of fear ;" and it was seemingly at some such unlucky moment, that the leading officer was required to begin the battle. He led his section forward, until, emerging from the cover of the lane at its extremity, and in the face of the foe, instead of charging boldly before him, he dashed aside into the forests on his right, and drew after him the whole regiment in irretrievable confusion. Vainly seeking to arrest their flight, Marion himself was borne away by the crowd, and narrowly escaped falling a victim to their miserable panic. Many of the fugitives had to quit their horses, and disembarass themselves of their boots and armor, to pass a deep creek which lay in their way. It was fortunate that some alarm prevailed in the hostile ranks. The British were doubtful of their victory ; and, apprehensive of ambuscade, did not pursue with promptness and resolution. They suffered some precious time to elapse before they moved in pursuit ; and but few of



the Americans were killed or taken. They were no less confounded at their bloodless victory, than was Marion mortified at a defeat so shameful.

Marion's force thus dispersed, was, however, not annihilated. This brave partisan possessed, in a singular degree, the love and confidence of his countrymen, and the men who followed him were generally of that elastic temper which no reverses can subdue, and no defeat keep inactive. Wherever he made his appearance known, his recruits rapidly gathered around him; and falling back upon the Pedee, he collected the scattered fragments of Horry's brigade, and withdrew, till better times, to the Santee. The triumph of the enemy was but of short duration. Colonel Thompson retired before a detachment from Greene's army, under colonel Laurens, and took post at Cainhoy, where he was too strongly posted to apprehend any attack in his position from the American detachment.

Laurens returned beyond the Ashley, where Greene, from want of resources of all kinds, troops, ammunition and provisions, was compelled to remain comparatively inactive. The subsistence of the southern army, for the last eighteen months of the war, had been derived altogether from South Carolina. Even the detached army under Wayne in Georgia, was supplied with provisions from the sister state. Without regarding the amount of her quota, South Carolina took it upon herself to supply the troops; and at the close of the war, she was found to be the largest creditor state in the Union. When it is considered how many years she had been the seat of active and unremitting warfare, and how long

she had been engaged in supporting two armies, in spite of the interruption of her agriculture, and the devastation of her plains, it will rather be matter of surprise that it should have been done at all, than that it should not have been done in better manner. The greater wonder is, how any soldiers could be kept together under circumstances such as those which prevailed in Greene's army.

He writes about this time, to the president of Congress, "we have three hundred men without arms, and more than a thousand so naked for want of clothing, that they can only be put on duty in cases of desperate necessity. Men in this situation, without pay or spirits, it is difficult to tell what charm keeps them together. I believe that it is nothing but the pride of the army and the severity of discipline that supports them under their sufferings."

The south has reason to be proud of such soldiers; and the wonder how they should have triumphed finally over the wealth, the valor, and the strength of Britain, and her thousand mercenaries, becomes proportionably lessened in the contemplation of a record such as this.

The only relief for the army in this deplorable condition, was derived chiefly from a specific contribution, voluntarily yielded by the inhabitants—a source of relief, by the way, which, throughout the war, brought its small but timely aid frequently for its temporary preservation. In addition to this, a contraband trade was opened with certain merchants in Charlestown, and carried on with the concurrence of the governor and council, through the medium of an agent near the army, and under the keen and vigilant eyes of colonels Lee and Laurens,—by which

in return for rice, such goods as answered the more pressing wants of the Americans, were furnished from the city. The removal of the army, upon the adjournment of the legislature, down to Bacon's Bridge, at the head of Ashley river, facilitated this trade by opening a boat communication with the city. The produce from these arrangements, though small and precarious, somewhat relieved the distresses of the army. To its general good behavior and unshaken integrity, under such heavy wants as it had been compelled to endure, we must record one sad and singular exception.

No longer able to meet the Americans in the field, the British employed another agent of warfare, which they have, perhaps, been as little reluctant to use as other and far less civilized nations. This was corruption. The near neighborhood of the American army, within twenty miles of the city, suggested to the enemy a design of working upon its distresses, and fermenting those discontents, which they well knew must arise in every body of men, whose condition is such as that of the American army. An emissary had succeeded in tampering with the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, five sergeants and twelve soldiers of which had been bought over to the purposes of the enemy.

Had the zeal of these wretches in behalf of their new employers not prompted them to make an experiment on the fidelity of the Marylanders, the most fatal consequences might have ensued to the whole army. But the sound principles of these long tried and noble fellows sustained them against temptation. Their integrity, the quick ears of one of their camp women, and the vigor and

vigilance of colonel Harmer, furnished the evidence for fastening the crime upon one Gornell, their leader. His arrest, and that of four other sergeants, was the signal for the flight of twelve of the same line, who broke away and escaped to the enemy on the very night on which he was taken. The plot had been rapidly ripening. Symptoms of mutiny had appeared in the American camp, and the movements in that of the enemy were conclusive of a scheme of simultaneous operation between the foe and the insurgents. The American commander acted with decision. His outposts were soon moved to head quarters, Marion recalled from the Santee, and the army held in constant readiness for battle. Gornell, the ring-leader of the mutineers, was tried and condemned; and with his execution, and the close confinement of his four confederates, every appearance of mutinous temper ceased in the encampment.

With this attempt terminated all serious efforts of the British against the main body of the southern army. The day of their power was rapidly passing away; and the resolution of the British parliament, to withdraw their forces from America, and put an end to a war in which they had lost an empire, and incurred, with the shame of such a loss, the worse reproach of having in the progress of the warfare lost their reputation for justice, magnanimity, and the noblest qualities of a civilized and christian people,—prepared the way for the evacuation of Charlestown.

When the vote of the British parliament for discontinuing aggressive war in America, was communicated to general Leslie, he proposed to general Greene a cessation



of hostilities,—and that he should be permitted to receive and purchase from the planters such supplies as he might need or desire.

Greene referred the first proposition to congress ; to the second he gave a flat refusal, declaring his resolution to prevent all supplies from going into Charleston, except so far as his contracts for clothing made it necessary. To this refusal, Leslie replied by a threat of taking his provisions by force, and commenced his operations for that purpose. Greene, accordingly, prepared to oppose him. Marion was ordered to strengthen himself, so as to meet the enemy in the quarter where he commanded ; while a strong detachment was formed, under general Gist, to cover the country lying south and west of the position of the army. Gist's brigade comprised the cavalry of the legion, and that of the third and fourth Virginia regiments, under colonel Baylor ; the infantry of the legion ; the dismounted dragoons of the third regiment ; the Delawares, and one hundred men from the line, under major Beale. The whole of the infantry was placed under command of colonel Laurens. Thus prepared for all events, Greene flattered himself that he should be able to neutralize the efforts of Leslie, and laugh at his threatenings. Some glimpses at this time, of a gentler influence than that of war, began to prevail in the American camp.

The arrival of general Greene's wife, who joined her husband on the 28th of March, contributed to enliven the monotony of an army in a state of inactivity. The presence of the Americans in force, necessarily brought back the planters and their families, who dwelt in the

neighborhood. These were wealthy and hospitable, and the gratitude which they felt for their deliverers, delighted to show itself in the generous forms of convivial entertainment. A gallant passage from Johnson's narrative of the events of this period, may fitly conclude this chapter.

"In modern ages and nations,"—he might have said, in all ages and most nations—"the transition from war to love has ever been direct and uniform. The army abounded in gallant young officers, and the country in wealthy, elegant and accomplished women. The laurels of the former were readily laid down at the feet of the latter, and received with approving smiles. Those who had re-conquered the country, were liberally admitted to a participation in its wealth and treasures; the feudal service exacted was a willing submission to that power which conquers all. Many were the matrimonial connections to which this period gave rise, between the the officers of the army and the heiresses of Carolina and Georgia; and it is needless to add, that they yielded a valuable acquisition, both to the population and the society of the country."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

The military events of this period were rapidly drawing to a close. They involved no affairs of leading importance. Early in April, Marion re-crossed the Santee river, with a small force of two hundred militia and Mayhem's horse, reduced to one hundred and twenty. It was general Greene's wish that he should take post as near as possible to the enemy, in order to straiten his limits beyond Cooper river, and to enable colonel Laurens to pass the Ashley, and close upon the enemy between the latter river and Goose Creek. But not being able to mount his infantry, it became necessary to take post on the Santee, at a point which would enable him to effect the double purpose of securing a retreat, and forming a junction with any party when necessary, either at Huger's bridge, over the west branch of Cooper river, from which he was twenty miles distant, or at Strawberry ferry, which was twenty-five from his position. His cavalry, meanwhile, patrolled the country within view of the enemy's posts at Haddrell and Hobcaw, to check the incursions of the British in that quarter, and obtain the earliest intelligence of their movements.

To relieve himself once more from a neighbor who had always proved so troublesome, general Leslie prevailed upon a Scotchman, under the feigned character of a deserter, to penetrate the country into the settlements

of the Scots loyalists, and persuade them to make such movements as would recall Marion to that quarter. The unfortunate agent, on his return from this duty, was intercepted and executed by Marion. But he had done his work; the loyalists were excited, and under major Gainey, of Pedee, a tory leader of considerable local celebrity, appeared in arms.

Taking command of Mayhem's cavalry, Marion proceeded to meet Gainey, who was an old and well known opponent; and one, like himself, who had a high reputation for his adroitness as a partisan warrior. Colonel Mayhem was too sick to accompany his command, and was left at his own place, attended by a small guard. Here he was captured by a daring young loyalist, named Robbins, who had made a circuit and penetrated nearly sixty miles into the country with this object. Robbins was one of Cunningham's men, and Mayhem, from the known hostility of the loyalists to him, expected nothing but death at his hands. But Robbins, not having his superior with him, exhibited the natural generosity of a brave man, and parolled the sick captive to his own house.

The rapid progress of Marion, and his sudden appearance before Gainey, convinced the latter that his movement was not likely to be attended by any favorable results; and the willingness of Marion to spare the unnecessary shedding of blood, facilitated a pacification between the parties, and led to the renewal of a treaty of neutrality, to which Gainey had bound himself the year before. To this treaty, Marion added a clause, permitting such of the loyalists as wished it, to retire with their



property from the country. These terms the tories were very ready to accept. They saw that they were about to be abandoned by the British, and yielded with the best grace to the necessity that pressed upon them.

This insurrection had scarcely been quelled before the partisan was summoned back to his former position. His absence had left the British at liberty to renew their depredations between Cooper and Santee rivers; and his infantry, under colonel Ashby, had been compelled to retire before a superior foe. He was joined on his route by a newly raised corps, under major Conyers, and but for this timely aid, must have reached his position alone, for the rapidity of his movements had broken down the corps of Mayhem, which he left behind him to recruit.

At Murray's ferry he halted to collect his militia and await the arrival of his weary cavalry. Here he consolidated the two commands of Mayhem and Conyers, and about the middle of July, re-crossed the Santee, at the head of a respectable body of horse and about three hundred dismounted infantry. With these he took post on the Wassamasaw, but had scarcely done so, before he was compelled, by the movements of general Leslie, to move immediately to Georgetown, against which place it was apprehended that a numerous fleet of small vessels, convoyed by gallees and armed brigs, and conveying eight hundred men, which issued late in July from Charlestown, was intended to operate. To this place he hurried with his usual speed and spirit; but the enterprise of the enemy was directed to another point, and he succeeded in sweeping from the banks of the Santee more than six hundred barrels of rice. Again was the force of Marion set in mo-

tion and thrown over the Sampit, to prevent the advance of the British upon Georgetown. In this he succeeded ; but it was utterly impossible to annoy them in their movements up the South Santee, and upon those plantations which they could plunder in safety, under the guns of their galleys.

At their departure he once more returned across the Santee, and took post at Watboo, as the return of the enemy's fleet to Charlestown suggested the probability of their attempting some similar enterprise upon another of the rivers communicating with that city. Here a party of his infantry drew upon themselves the attention of the British. They believed the infantry to be isolated. Knowing their cavalry to be with Marion, and ignorant of the rapidity of his return, they supposed him to be still at Georgetown. Major Frazier, at the head of above one hundred British dragoons, advanced to surprise this party. It was not without some uneasiness that Marion prepared to receive the enemy. The greater part of his force, at this time, consisted of what were termed, in the language of that day, *new made whigs*. They were men originally tories, who, in consequence of a judicious proclamation of governor Rutledge, which offered pardon to all who would join the American forces within a limited time, had deserted from the British.

But his uneasiness was misplaced. There could not have been a description of men more deeply interested in securing themselves against the British sabres. Not one of them, if taken, would have escaped military execution. Instead, therefore, of surprising the Americans, Frazier found them drawn out and ready to receive him.

His charge was met with firm nerves and the keenest aim. A single fire terminated the action ; and it is seldom that a single fire has done equal execution on a like number of men. One officer, eight men and five horses were killed ; three officers, eight men and a number of horses wounded and taken. The Americans sustained no loss in men, but a very severe loss in ammunition. The driver of the wagon which contained it, or his horse, took fright during the engagement, and made off in a direction which revealed its flight to the enemy, by a small detachment of whom it was captured. Unhappily, Marion was destitute of his cavalry, who were then patrolling the country below, and cavalry alone could have retrieved his loss. Five of his men, armed with the broad swords of the slain British, and mounted on as many captured horses, resolved upon the effort. They succeeded ; but the prize was again wrested from their hands before they could reach the infantry, by the return of the enemy in force.

“It was certainly,” remarks the historian, “the distinguishing attribute of Marion, always to extract good service from the militia. They thought themselves invincible under him ; and in the present instance, he declares that not a man faltered ; that he even had to check their anxiety to move out into the open field and receive the charge of the cavalry. But Marion’s coolness never deserted him ; in the absence of his cavalry, a defeat would have been converted into a route, and both corps would have been sacrificed in detail.”

Had his cavalry been present, the assailants must have been utterly cut to pieces. In an hour and a half

after they had moved off, major Conyers arrived with his horse and went instantly in pursuit. But major Frazier had by this time formed a junction with a detachment of infantry which had advanced to his support; and without ammunition, Marion was forced to retire once more toward the Santee. Greene, with half his army on the sick list, could give him no succor. Gist was employed upon the Combahee, in protecting that river from the foraging parties of the enemy; and partial, indeed, would have been the securities of the American army, were it not that the troops of the British in Charlestown, and the vicinity, were in not much better condition.

But events were approaching—brought about by the steady adherence of the Americans to their resolution of independence, in spite of privation, danger and every form of suffering—which were at length calculated to give them relief from present evils, and a triumphant solace for all the past. Early in September, Sir Samuel Hood arrived, with a convoying fleet, to cover the evacuation of the British from Charlestown. Major Frazier was recalled to the city, and Marion resumed his station at Watboo. The light brigade, under general Gist, took a position, soon after it was formed, in advance of the army near the Stono. Colonel Laurens, who had been charged with conducting the intercourse with the corps of intelligence in Charleston, had a guard assigned him, and placed himself without the pickets of the brigade and near to Wappoo Creek.

When general Gist was ordered to the southward, to protect the country on the Combahee from the foraging



fleet of the enemy, general Greene did not think it advisable to withdraw Laurens from a post so highly confidential and important ; and, accordingly, issued no orders to the latter to join his brigade. But the ardor of Laurens was not to be restrained when the prospect was open for active operations against the foe. When made acquainted with the orders of Gist, "to strike at the enemy wherever he might meet them," he resolved to share in the enterprise ; and, rising from a sick bed, he hurried after the brigade, which he overtook on the north bank of Combahee river near the ferry. Colonel Laurens solicited from his commander an opportunity for immediate enterprise ; and, fatally fortunate in his application, he obtained his wish.

The enemy had landed from their boats on the opposite side of the river, and the cavalry, under major Call, had been ordered round by Salkehatchie bridge, to join the militia who had collected in that quarter. Twelve miles below the ferry, on the north side of the Combahee, the extreme end of Chehaw neck approaches the bed of the river, which generally, between these points, is bordered by extensive swamps and rice fields. At this point, general Gist had ordered a work to be thrown up, for the purpose of annoying the enemy in their retreat, and the command of this post was conferred on Laurens. With fifty infantry, some matrosses and a howitzer, he moved down the river on the evening of the 26th of August, near enough to take post at Chehaw point by the dawn of the following day. At the place of Mrs. Stock he spent the night, in the enjoyment of company, and in the utterance of feelings and sentiments which heighten the melancholy inter-

est of the fatal event which closed his adventure. The warm hospitality of the lady of the mansion, and the blandishments of female society, beguiled the time, and the company did not separate until two hours before the hour when the detachment was set in motion. The expected conflict was the subject of conversation, and the apprehensions of the ladies were soothed by the pleasant indifference with which he spoke of the event.

At three o'clock he commenced his march, mounted, and at the head of his detachment, altogether unsuspecting of danger, when the enemy was discovered. They had probably received some intelligence of the march of the detachment; and, landing on the north bank of the river, and pushing into the road that communicates with the point, they had formed an ambuscade in a place covered with fennel and high grass, and were completely concealed from sight, until they rose to deliver their fire upon the unsuspecting Americans. With the discovery of the British, the decision of Laurens was promptly taken. He saw that his only alternative against a shameful surrender, or a more dangerous if not more shameful retreat, was an energetic charge. This he instantly ordered, and with characteristic courage led the way. He fell at the first fire; so did captain Smith of the artillery, and the men were thrown into confusion and fled. The howitzer fell into the enemy's hands, who pursued the flying infantry about a quarter of a mile, when they were met by general Gist. The pursuers fell back and drew up under cover of a wood near the edge of the river. An attempt to dislodge them before the infantry came up, failed, and was attended with some loss.

Their front was covered by logs and brush, so as to be inaccessible to cavalry, and in infantry they were superior to Gist's command. The loss of the British on this occasion is unknown. That of the Americans was very serious for so small a force ; and in the death of Laurens the army lamented a tried and gallant soldier ; the country an unshrinking, unsleeping patriot. Greene, in a letter, speaks of him in this language : " Poor Laurens has fallen in a paltry little skirmish. You knew his temper, and I predicted his fate. The love of military glory made him seek it upon occasions unworthy his rank. The state will feel his loss." His body was deposited in the earth at the plantation of Mrs Stock, " where," says the biographer of Greene, " a small enclosure of the simplest structure, seems to excite, not answer, the inquiry, ' What undistinguished stranger lies buried here ? ' "

From the Combahee river the British passed into the Broad, successively ascending the streams which communicate with that river, and carrying off all the provision and live stock which they could collect. From thence they put into Port Royal, and laid the islands of Beaufort and St. Helena under contribution. It was in vain that Greene, with the feeble army which he commanded, sought to cover and protect these places. A country of vast extent, intersected with streams and marshes, easy of entrance, and quite as easy of egress, was liable to insult at a thousand quarters, to which the guardian eye could not extend, nor the guardian wing give shelter. Still, the attempt was every where made, with a promptness and energy which only needed corresponding resources to have been every where successful.

General Gist pursued the British with all diligence to Port Royal ferry, where he found two of their gallies. Having opened a field piece upon them, he soon compelled them to slip their cables and attempt to make off. In this attempt one of them, the Balfour, of two double nines, ran aground, and was abandoned by her crew. They spiked her guns and scuttled her before their departure ; but their work was performed with too much hurry to be effectual. She was easily repaired, and under the command of lieutenant Adams, with a picked crew of twenty-five men, did excellent service afterwards in defending these waters from the picaroons which at that time infested them.

Gist rejoined the main army after the expulsion of the British from Beaufort, and his brigade, from this period to the close of the war, remained inactive ; and the same may almost be said of the entire army, with very few and unimportant exceptions. The British had retired under the guns of their redoubts, and no longer sought occasions for conflict. Their operations were confined chiefly to the collection of cattle and provisions for their contemplated voyage. The Americans traversed the Neck in the face of their fortifications, and Kosciusko, the famous Polish exile, who had succeeded to colonel Laurens in the command of the advanced light troops before the enemy's lines, still farther abated their desire for adventure by the audacity of his frequent approaches.

The last blood shed in the American war was that of captain Wilmot, of the Americans, who, with a small command, continued to cover John's island, and watch the passage by the Stono. Impatience of inactivity and



a love of adventure, led him frequently to cross the river and harass the enemy's parties on John's island. In one of these excursions, undertaken in conjunction with Kosciusko, against a party of the British woodcutters, he fell into an ambuscade and was killed.

Meanwhile, general Leslie was pressing his preparations for the final evacuation of Charlestown. Greatly constrained and distressed in that limited position by the cordon, which, in spite of all his weakness, the American general had contrived to maintain around his foe, Leslie adopted a series of providential measures which somewhat lightened his embarrassments. He relieved himself of great numbers of unnecessary consumers in the garrison, by suffering the loyalists to leave his camp and make their peace with their countrymen—a privilege of which hundreds readily availed themselves. Another measure, of equally good policy, was his expulsion from the city of all those who were alledged to favor the American cause. This measure was ingeniously calculated to furnish a pretext to many, who, having neglected to avail themselves of the benefits of the governor's proclamation, were necessarily dependent only on the mercy of the country. The harsh command of expulsion from the British camp, seemed to give them some claim to the indulgence of their countrymen.

Having levelled the walls of the town, and of Fort Johnson, the British commander opened a communication with general Greene, apprising him of the intended evacuation, and proposing terms in order that his departure might be a peaceable one. An arrangement accordingly followed, by which the Americans were to take pos-

session, as the enemy's rear guard retired; the former pledging themselves to forbear all hostile attempts upon the movements of the British, on condition that they should do no injury to the city. On Saturday, the 14th of December, 1782, this event took place. The morning gun was the signal for the British rear guard to abandon their advanced redoubts. General Wayne, at the head of three hundred infantry, the cavalry of the legion, a detachment of artillery with two six pounders, having been detached from the American army, had crossed Ashley river the night before, and was stationed in readiness to follow the enemy's movements. At the sound of the morning gun the two parties were put in motion, at an assigned distance asunder of two hundred yards. They moved down the King street road, till they had passed the lines, when the British filed off to Gadsden's wharf, where they embarked in boats which awaited them.

"It was a grand and pleasing sight," says general Moultrie in his memoirs, "to see the enemy's fleet, upwards of three hundred sail, lying at anchor from Fort Johnson to Five Fathom Hole, in a curve line, as the current runs; and what made it more agreeable, they were ready to depart."

The reluctance of the one party to leave, and the impatience of the other to succeed them in the possession of the city, led the British, now and then, during the march, to cry aloud to general Wayne that he was pressing too rapidly upon them. On such occasions the halt imposed upon the Americans was a short trial of their patience. Well might the Carolinians be impatient

to behold those dear homes from which they had been so long exiled. Wayne moved forward, and halted on the south side of Broad street, nearly opposite to Church. In the rear of the American advance, came the governor of the state, attended by general Greene and escorted by two hundred cavalry. His council, and long troops of officers and citizens, followed on horseback. Smiling faces and joyful voices saluted the deliverers as they came. The balconies and windows were crowded with the aged men, the women and the children, who, for nearly three years, had wept with apprehension and sorrow the absence and the loss of dear sons, affectionate brothers and warm friends. Their tears now were those only of joy and of triumph. "God bless you, gentlemen; God bless you, and welcome, welcome home."

Such were the sweet words which hailed the long banished citizens, and the long suffering soldiery of Greene. In tears, in silence, and on bended knees, the full hearts of the rescued citizens found utterance that blessed day. The state was at last free from the defiling presence of the invader, never, we trust, to suffer again from his painful scourge and humiliating arrogance and footstep!

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

The day after the restoration of Charlestown to the American authorities, the British fleet put to sea. If the joy of the Carolinians was great in once more resuming possession of their metropolis, the sorrows of the British on leaving it were comparatively greater. It had been for more than two years the scene in which they had played their several parts of power without restraint. Every passion of the tyrant had they shown in turn; haughty scorn, contemptuous hate, reckless lust, and groping and grinding avarice. They had trampled upon its sensibilities, shed its best blood in wantonness, and gleaned it of its treasures. The last lingering hour of their stay was distinguished by the ravages of a spirit still as greedy of gain as they had shown at their first coming. Thousands of slaves, stolen from the plantations, swelled the flying train of the British officers. For these the spoilers ultimately found a profitable market in the West Indies. The share of lieutenant colonel Moncrieff, alone, is stated to have been no less than eight hundred negroes.

But this last robbery of the invaders sinks into insignificance, when compared with their frequent plunder of the same species of property during the first year of their conquest. It has been computed that South Carolina, alone, lost by these robberies no less than twenty-five thousand negroes. The losses of Georgia and North Carolina were proportionately great.



The reluctance of the invaders to leave the metropolis of Carolina, showed itself even more conclusively in the number of deserters whom they left behind them. Hundreds emerged from cellars, chimneys and other hiding places, as soon as the certain absence of their army made it safe to do so. Scarcely a Hessian went back but under compulsion; and thousands prepared to encounter every danger of ill treatment from a people whom they had wronged, rather than return to a standard to which they had been sold by their mercenary sovereigns. Among the deserters, the Irish were particularly numerous. Their desertions were so frequent, long before the war had been brought to an issue, that their officers ceased entirely to confide in them; and it is not improbable that the inactivity of general Stewart when at Orangeburg, and the subsequent imbecility which seemed to mark the proceedings of the commander while in garrison, arose, rather from doubts of the fidelity of the troops, than from their sickness or any other of the alledged causes.

The treaty of peace between the respective commissioners of America and Great Britain, very happily soon followed the evacuation, and relieved the country from other evils, scarcely less serious than those which came with a state of actual warfare. The southern army, thrown for its support entirely upon South Carolina, soon exhausted the few remaining resources of the province, and the patience of the people. The state became indignant at this charge, when it was known how much it had already contributed, and how much more than any of its sisters it had suffered for three tedious years.

The army, seemingly abandoned by congress, and having got from South Carolina all that she was able to give, proceeded to collect its food at the point of the bayonet. The state authorities became alarmed and angry; and their resolution to prevent the exercise of any farther purveyance, increased the rage and suffering of the starving soldiery. General Gist, who was in command at James' island, could no longer restrain his men. The cavalry at the Eutaw broke out into actual mutiny, and were brought back to their duty only by the eloquent entreaties and reproaches of their commander. To such a height did the discontents arise, that general Greene, on one occasion, was compelled to select and draw out in order of battle, from the sound parts of his army, a sufficient force to keep the rest in subjection. The tidings of peace, as they led to the disbanding of the army, relieved the fears of the country, and in some degree, the sufferings of the soldier. He could now return to those homes and happy anticipations, from which the calls of his country had so long withdrawn him. He had reason to rejoice in the beams of peace, though it is feared that thousands who survived the strife, received but a small share of the blessings for which they strove in war. A tardy justice on the part of the nation, has sought to compensate them for their wounds and sufferings; but the consciousness of their desert has been, perhaps, their greatest and best reward.

Provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris, on the 13th of November, 1782, by which the king of Great Britain acknowledged "the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New

York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent states; that he treated with them as such; and, for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquished all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights of the same."

The termination of the revolutionary war, resulting as it did in the unrestrained and individual sovereignty of the several states engaged in it, left South Carolina free to the adoption of her own plans of government, her laws and domestic policy. Her people, with that elastic temper which had distinguished them from the beginning, soon set themselves to work to repair the disasters occasioned by the long and painful conflict which has been just recorded, and to remedy those defects in their social and political condition which it developed. In this object, it was fortunate for the country that the moderation with which the republicans regarded and treated the loyalists, led to the hearty co-operation, in all leading respects, of these lately hostile parties. The greater part of the exiled tories were permitted to return, by legislative enactment, and, under some temporary disabilities and small fines, were restored to citizenship. Though laboring under an immense debt, the state generously restored to the late owners, half a million of pounds sterling of confiscated property in its actual possession.

The history of that common bond of union, by which South Carolina became one of a community of states, must be looked for in another volume. To new-model the constitution of the state in conformity with that of the United States, a convention of her people was called in

1790. The constitution then adopted recognized the following elements: That all power comes from the people, and is to be exercised for their benefit; that they are bound by no laws but such as are sanctioned by their representatives; that all are equally subject to the laws; that no freeman can be taken, or imprisoned, or deprived of his property, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of life, liberty, privilege or possessions, but by the judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. It also guaranteed freedom of conscience in matters of faith and religion.

These principles of liberty and equality which pervade the constitution, are impressed upon the laws of the state, which were made in compliance with them. Under these laws the people have prospered, and have been blessed with great increase for the last fifty years. A mild and indulgent government, with small taxation; a fruitful country, and the production of commodities which form the staples of consumption for millions, and the use of which is rapidly increasing; encourage the citizen in his labor and reward him for it. But few interruptions have occurred in the progress of the state to prosperity. Religion and education have kept corresponding pace with the progress of agriculture among the people. Public works of great value and cost, in every section of the country, mark the watchful care of an intelligent legislature.

The numbers of the people of South Carolina, which, in 1765, were but one hundred and twenty-three thousand, of all descriptions, are now, in 1839, little less than six hundred thousand; and this increase has been constant



and progressive, though thousands of her sons have colonized the rich fields of Alabama, Mississippi, and the fertile regions beyond. Nor is the prosperity of South Carolina marked only by affluence in wealth and increase of numbers at home. Her sons have always held a leading rank in the estimation of the Union. Their counsels have been no less acknowledged for than distinguished by wisdom. Their character has been unexceptionable and blameless. Spotless in integrity, they have not been wanting in that honorable ambition which seeks the high places of responsibility; and in stations of the highest trust they have shown themselves equally adequate to their tasks, and worthy of their honors. Her jewels, indeed, have been always as brilliant as they were numerous; and though one of the smallest states, in a territorial point of view, in the Union, her moral weight has ever given her a distinguished attitude in the councils and performances of the whole country. Her chronicle of great names is unusually copious. Her Pinckneys, Rutledges and Gadsdens, as educated men, no less than statesmen and patriots, were always in the first rank; and the long list which follows, and which should be fixed firmly in the memory of her sons, is of itself a column of glory to her name which shall forever preserve it, amidst all the vicissitudes of power, and in defiance of all the devastating effects of time. Moultrie and Marion, Sumter, Laurens and Pickens, were all remarkable men; and, more recently, the names of other renowned and mighty men furnish a record as glorious, which fully proves that the example of the past has not been chronicled in vain.

One lesson, in chief, may be gleaned, among many others, from this imperfect story of the past. It is that which teaches the citizen to cling to the soil of his birth in the day of its difficulty, with the resolution of the son who stands above the grave of a mother and protects it from violation. This will be a safe rule for the citizen, whatever may be the cause of war or the character of the invader. Opinion hourly fluctuates and changes; public policy is, of all things, the most uncertain and capricious; and the pretexts of ambition suggest a thousand subtle combinations of thought and doctrine, upon which the human mind would depend with doubt and difficulty. But the resolves of a decided majority, in all questions of public expediency or policy, assumed as the voice of the soil, would be the course equally of patriotism and safety. This rule, preserved in memory and maintained as a principle, would unite a people and make them invincible. The thunders and the threatenings of the foe would die away, unharmed, in the distance. Unanimity among our citizens will always give them unconquerable strength, and invasion will never again set hostile foot on the shores of our country.



## APPENDIX,

COMPRISING A CHRONICLE OF THE LEADING EVENTS IN  
THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, FROM THE CLOSE  
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO THE PRESENT YEAR.  
(1840.)

A D. 1782. John Rutledge governor. General Assembly convened at Jacksonboro in January. Christopher Gadsden is chosen governor; he declines office on the plea of age. John Matthews is chosen. Assembly proceeds to supply vacancies in the different departments of office, and to re-establish all the branches of civil government. The governor empowered, as in the case of his predecessor, to do "all matters and things which are judged expedient and necessary to secure the liberty, safety and happiness of the state." Laws passed for the confiscation of estates of tories, and banishing from the country such as are active and decided friends of the British; also for amercing the estates of others, in lieu of their personal services, which had been withheld from the country. Two hundred and thirty-seven persons, or estates, included in the first, and forty-eight in the last of these clauses. These enactments afterwards modified or repealed (see preceding history to the close of the war) by the evacuation of Charlestown. Partial collision between the state authorities and the army under Greene. See Johnson's life of that general.

1783-5. Benjamin Guerard governor. Charlestown incorporated and called Charleston. Statesburg founded by general Sumter. Cotton culture begun on a small scale.

1785-7. William Moultrie governor. The Methodists first make their appearance, as a religious fraternity, in Carolina. The town of Columbia ordered to be laid out and made the seat of government, March 2nd.



1787-9. Thomas Pinckney governor. Instalment law passed; the last attempt in South Carolina to interfere between creditor and debtor. Last instalment made payable March 25th, 1793. Clermont established.

1789-92. Charles Pinckney governor. State records removed to Columbia, December 1st, 1789. First legislature meet at Columbia, January, 1790. The present constitution of the state there ratified, June 3d of the same year. The United States census in 1790 makes the population of South Carolina consist of 140,178 whites; 107,074 slaves, and 1,801 free blacks and colored. Total 249,073.

1792-4. Arnoldus Vanderhorst governor. Right of primogeniture abolished, and an equal distribution granted of intestates' estates. Roman Catholics organized into a church, Monday the 2nd of May, 1791. George Washington, president of the United States, arrives in Charleston, accompanied by his wife and suite. Is received with unmeasured enthusiasm; visits the public and military works. On the 9th of May leaves Charleston for Savannah; escorted on his way to Ashley ferry, by governor Vanderhorst, generals Moultrie, Pinckney, and other distinguished citizens. 1792. The orphan house established in Charleston. Yellow fever prevails in Charleston with great fatality; one hundred and sixty-five persons fall victims in four months. Instalment law expires with the last payment, 25th of March, 1793. Santee canal begun in 1793.

1794-6. William Moultrie, second time governor. Orphan house goes into operation. Considerable increase in the cultivation of cotton.

1796-8. Charles' Pinckney governor. The French Protestant church a second time destroyed by fire in Charleston.

1798-1800. Edward Rutledge governor. The yellow fever prevails in Charleston in 1799, but with less fatality than in previous years; ninety-six persons; mostly Europeans, fall its victims. The French Protestant church is rebuilt. The legislature establishes the office of comptroller general. The state is divided into twenty-four counties, districts and parishes, viz: Beaufort, Charleston, Georgetown, Orangeburg, Camden, Cheraw, Ninety-Six, Pinck-

ney and Washington districts. The parishes and counties are St. Helena, St. Luke, Prince William, St. Peter, St. Philip, St. Michael, St. Bartholomew, St. John, Colleton, St. Andrew, St. Paul's, All-Saints, Prince George, Frederick, Lewisburg or St. Matthews, Orange, Lexington, Winton, Clarendon, Clermont, Salem, Richland, Fairfield, Chesterfield, Darlington, York, Chester, Union, Spartanburg, Pendleton, Greenville, Abbeville, Edgefield, Newberry and Laurens. Three years after, another arrangement took place, by which the grand divisions of the state were made to embrace twenty-eight districts, which are as follows:—*Lower Districts*: Beaufort, Charleston, Colleton, Georgetown, Williamsburg, Marion and Horry. *Middle Districts*: Barnwell, Edgefield, Orangeburg, Newberry, Lexington, Richland, Fairfield, Sumter, Kershaw, Darlington, Chesterfield and Marlborough. *Upper Districts*: Abbeville, Laurens, Union, Chester, Lancaster, York, Spartanburg, Greenville and Pendleton. The last district has recently been divided into two separate judicial districts, one of which is called Pickens, and the other Anderson.

1800-2. John Drayton governor. County courts abolished, and district courts substituted in every district. Santee canal finished and goes into operation in 1801. South Carolina college established by the legislature in December, 1801. United States census makes the population of South Carolina to consist of 196,255 whites; 146,151 slaves, and 3,185 free blacks and colored. Total 345,591.

1802-4. James B. Richardson governor. Vaccination first introduced, by Dr. Ramsay, into South Carolina.

1804-6. Paul Hamilton governor. Charleston is visited, September 8th, 1804, by a dreadful hurricane, which destroys a large amount of property. Debts due the state amount to \$734,755.

1806-8. Charles Pinckney governor. Right of suffrage made free to all white citizens, without requiring a property qualification.

1808-10. John Drayton governor.

1810-12. Population of South Carolina, by the United States census of 1810, consists of 214,196 whites, 196,365 slaves; and 4,554 free blacks and colored, making a total of 413,515. General free school system for poor children established in 1811.

1812-14. Joseph Allston governor. The bank of the state established. Commissioners on the part of South and North Carolina determine and designate the boundary line between the respective states. The geographical designation of South Carolina is as follows: South Carolina is situated between  $32^{\circ} 4' 30''$  and  $35^{\circ} 12'$  North latitude, and  $1^{\circ} 30'$  and  $6^{\circ} 54'$  West longitude, from the capital at Washington, or  $78^{\circ} 25'$  and  $83^{\circ} 49'$  West longitude from Greenwich. From the closest computation which has been made. South Carolina contains 30,213 square miles, or 19,435,680 acres; and averages in length 189, and in breadth 160 miles. Her present limits are included within the following lines:—

“Beginning at a cedar stake, marked with nine notches, on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean (Goat Island,) about one mile and a quarter east of the mouth of Little river, and running thence north  $47^{\circ} 30'$  west, 91 miles 17 chains, (along the line run in 1764,) to a light wood post; (the northeast corner of the state;) from thence south  $89^{\circ} 5'$  west, 65 miles 40 chains, to the end of the line run in 1764; thence north  $2^{\circ} 15'$  east, 7 miles 59 chains, to a marked sweet-gum, designating the southeast corner of the Catawba Indian boundary line, (being the intersection of the five mile creek.) Thence north  $41^{\circ}$  west, 13 miles 8 chains, to a marked hickory, about one third of a mile beyond Thomas P. Smith's house; thence south  $52^{\circ}$  west, 7 miles to the Catawba river, (near the mouth of White's branch;) thence north  $3^{\circ}$  west, up the Catawba river, about 7 miles, to where it intersects the line run in 1772, (which commences at the mouth of the Little Catawba river,) thence along the said line, due west 64 miles 40 chains, to a stone near the Tryon mountain, marked S. C. which designates the termination of the line run in 1772. Here the commissioners appointed by the legislatures of North and South Carolina, to establish the north boundary line between the two states, set up a stone in 1813, marked N. C. and S. C. September 15th, 1813; and thence continued the line due west 4 miles  $22\frac{1}{2}$  chains, to a rock marked S. C. and N. C.; thence south  $25^{\circ}$  west,  $29\frac{1}{2}$  chains, to a chesnut on the top of the ridge, dividing the waters of the north fork of Pacolet river, from the waters of the north fork of Saluda river; thence along the said ridge, (keeping on the summit of the same all the way,) until it intersects the Cherokee Indian

boundary line, (in a straight line near 30 miles, and following the ridge 50 miles,) where a stone is set up and marked S. C. and N. C. 1813; thence south  $68^{\circ} 15'$  west, 18 miles 30 chains, to the intersection of the  $35^{\circ}$  North latitude, which is marked on a rock in the east branch of Chatooga river, with latitude  $35^{\circ}$  A. D. 1813, (all which aforesaid lines divide this state from North Carolina,) thence down the Chatooga river to its junction with the Tugaloo, where it is called the Toruro river, (general course southwest  $29^{\circ}$ , distance in a straight line 25 miles,) thence down the Tugaloo and Savannah rivers, to the intersection of the same with the Atlantic Ocean; (general course southeast  $40^{\circ}$ , distance in a straight line 226 miles,) all which divide this state from Georgia; thence along the sea-coast, including all the islands adjacent, to the place of beginning, (general course northeast  $54^{\circ} 30'$ , 187 miles in a straight line.)

18th of June, 1812, the congress of the United states declare war against Great Britain. The war was of brief duration, lasting about two years. In this time, apart from the usual unfavorable effects of war upon commerce, South Carolina suffered little from its influence. Occasional descents were made upon her coasts by the British cruisers, and the entrances to the several ports of Charleston, Beaufort and Georgetown, were sometimes obstructed by their frigates. In South Carolina a becoming spirit was manifested to meet the enemy in the event of invasion, which was anticipated from the same force which penetrated to Washington. Fortifications were raised in and around Charleston; and such places along the coast as were more accessible for the landing of an enemy, were put in a condition for defence and manned with troops. In Charleston the spirit of individual enterprise and valor kept equal pace with that of the public authorities. A number of private armed vessels were sent forth, which did immense injury to the commerce of Great Britain and sent in numerous prizes. One or two events occurring in shore, along the Carolina coast, were particularly brilliant, and surpassed by no exploits during the war. Among these was the defence of the schooner Alligator in January, 1814.

This vessel was commanded by sailing master Bassett, and lay abreast of Cole's Island. Observing an enemy's frigate and brig just without the breakers, and suspecting that an attack would be



made upon him during the night, Mr. Bassett made his preparations to receive the enemy accordingly. Six boats were discovered pulling up with muffled oars, and under cover of the marsh, at about 8 o'clock in the evening. They were hailed and fired upon. A general discharge of grape and musketry from both sides followed, and was continued for half an hour. The assailants were beaten and driven off with considerable loss. The Alligator had two men killed and two wounded. Her force was but forty men, while that of the British was near one hundred and forty. A large cutter of the enemy was shortly after picked up on North Edisto, supposed to have been one of the boats used on the occasion by the enemy. The bodies of an officer and a common seaman were found near it; the former, besides other wounds, having lost an arm. The Alligator was afterwards sunk in a squall while lying in Port Royal sound, off the island of St. Simons. Seventeen of her crew and two officers perished.

August, 1813. The Decatur, a private armed vessel of Charleston, mounting seven guns and commanded by captain Diron, being on a cruise, discovered a ship and schooner and stood towards them. She was soon abreast of the latter, which hoisted English colors and fired a shot, but without effect. After much maneuvering, and the ineffectual exchange of several shot, together with a broadside, the two vessels came into close action, and a severe fire of musketry ensued. Captain Diron prepared to board, and succeeded in doing so. The resistance of the British was desperate. Fire arms became useless and the fight was carried on with the cutlass. The captain and chief officers of the enemy were killed, her decks covered with dead and wounded, and her colors were finally torn down by the Americans. The prize proved to be the Dominica of fifteen guns, with a crew of eighty men. She suffered a loss of thirteen killed and forty-seven wounded; among the former was her commander. The Decatur had but four killed and sixteen wounded. The king's packet, Princess Charlotte, which had sailed under convoy of the Dominica from St. Thomas, remained an inactive spectator of the bloody contest, which lasted an hour. At its close she made sail to the southward. The Decatur had suffered too greatly in rigging to pursue. The Decatur, shortly after, captures and brings into

Charleston the British ship, London Trader, mounting several guns, and having a valuable cargo of sugar, coffee, cotton, rum and molasses.

Same month, (August 18th,) the British make a descent upon Dewees' Island, burn some small craft, and ravage several plantations. From Capers' Island they carry off supplies of live stock, &c.

August 22nd. The British land at Hilton Head. 27th-28th. Dreadful gale on the coast, in which Charleston and Sullivan's Island, Beaufort, Georgetown, Edisto and Goose Creek suffer great loss in life and property. The British sloop of war Moselle wrecked and goes to pieces in Broad river. October 27th. The British blockade Charleston and make several prizes.

1814-16. David R. Williams governor. In January, 1815, while captain Dent, who commanded at Charleston, was at the North Edisto, he obtained information that a party of the enemy belonging to the British ship Hebrus, was watering on a neighboring island. He directed Mr. Laurence Kearney to proceed outside with three barges, to cut off their retreat, while a detachment of militia advanced upon them by land. The frigate was at anchor out of gun-shot. Seeing the design of the Americans, she fired guns and made other signs of recall, when two of the boats pulled towards her, and a tender that contained a strong party attempted to run out also. The wind shifted at this time, bringing the Hebrus to windward of the American barges, but the tender to leeward of them. Kearney, regardless of the frigate and of the two boats, directed his aim at the tender. The Hebrus made the greatest exertions to save her. Shot were fired at her own cutters to drive them back to the assistance of the tender, and a third boat was also dispatched to her succor. The fire of the frigate was also opened upon the American barges, and with such effect, that a shot took off the head of a man at Mr. Kearney's side. But the gallantry of this officer effected his object. He laid the tender aboard and captured her directly under the guns of the frigate. The launch of the Hebrus was also taken. The tender, besides other arms, had a carronade and six brass swivels in her. Forty prisoners were made on this occasion and brought into South Edisto. A few days later, the same gentleman, in the

launch of the Hebrus, with a crew of twenty-five men, went out and captured a tender belonging to the Severn, in which were forty men. The coast of Carolina was distinguished by several other events marked by like gallantry and success.

December 24th, 1814. Treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain signed at Ghent.

1816-18. Andrew Pickens governor. St Paul's church in Charleston consecrated. Moultrieville, on Sullivan's island, incorporated. The legislature seriously begins to address itself to the business of internal improvement, and commences with liberal appropriations of money. The summer of 1817, in Charleston, distinguished by the fatal prevalence of yellow fever.

1818-20. John Geddes governor. Cheraw becomes a commercial town of some consequence.

1820-22. Thomas Bennett governor. The year 1822 was distinguished in Charleston, by a bold but unsuccessful attempt at insurrection, by a small portion of the slave population. The conspiracy was planned by one Denmark Vesey, a mulatto from Saint Domingo, who had been a spectator of the insurrection in that island, and brought with him a taste for its horrors to Carolina. His plans were marked by considerable intelligence and judgment. By the fidelity of native slaves, the plot was discovered and the design defeated. Vesey, the ring-leader, with thirty-four of the more prominent conspirators, was hung; a like number were transported from the state, and about twice the number, who had been arrested, were acquitted. The whole number arrested was one hundred and thirty-one. Four white men, foreigners, were indicted as privy to, and participants in, the conspiracy. They were indicted for misdemeanor in inciting slaves to insurrection, found guilty, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment.

1822-4. John L. Wilson governor. The low country visited by a destructive hurricane. Many lives and much property destroyed. St. Stephen's chapel established as a free church in Charleston. 1823. Medical College of South Carolina incorporated.

1824-6. Richard I. Manning governor. The courts of law new modeled in 1824. General LaFayette revisits South Carolina after

an absence of forty-seven years. His arrival hailed with great enthusiasm and many honors. Has a private interview with colonel Huger, who distinguished himself, while yet a youth, in an effort to set LaFayette free from the dungeons of Olmutz. General C. C. Pinckney dies August 16th, 1825.

1826-8. John Taylor governor. Legislature passes resolutions December 12, 1827, against the tariff laws of the United States. The commissioners of free schools report the establishment of eight hundred and ninety-two schools within the state, in which eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-four scholars are taught, at an annual cost of \$36,580.

1828-30. Stephen D. Miller governor. The free school report for 1828 lessens the number of schools to eight hundred and forty, but increases the number of pupils to nine thousand and thirty-six; the cost for which is also increased to \$39,716. South Carolina legislature passes resolutions against the United States tariff, December 15th, 1828, and enters protest December 19th, 1828.

1830-2. James Hamilton Jr. governor. 1832. Medical College of the state of South Carolina incorporated. Goes into successful operation in 1833. Great debate in congress between Hayne of South Carolina and Webster of Massachusetts, on the subject of State rights and federal relations, January 21, 1830. South Carolina makes a declaration of state rights and enacts an ordinance to nullify the operation of the act of congress imposing duties, &c. December, 17th, 1830.

1833-4. Robert Y. Hayne governor. Andrew Jackson, president of the United States, issues a proclamation denunciatory of the nullification proceedings of South Carolina. Is answered by the governor's proclamation asserting the sovereignty of the state, &c.

1834-6. George McDuffie governor. The annual report of the commissioners of free schools for 1835 makes the number of schools seven hundred and nine, in which eight thousand four hundred and seventy-five scholars are taught, at a cost of \$33,631.

1836-8. Pierce M. Butler governor. Report of free school commissioners makes the number of schools six hundred and ninety-



five; of scholars six thousand seven hundred and eighteen, and cost \$33,634. Great Western rail-road chartered.

1838-40. Patrick Noble governor. , Legislative committee reports at the session of 1839, a statement of the condition of the Banks of South Carolina as follows:—

BANKS.	1839.	Capital.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Specie.
Bank of Charleston,	July 1	\$2,938,125	\$761,826	\$693,902 12	\$516,762 33
Bank of the Sta. of S.C.	Oct. 1	1,156,318 48	563,270	612,289 45	291,180 40
S. Western R.R. Bank,	Oct. 1	1,361,421 78	419,130	69,072 61	185,001 03
State Bank, - - -	Oct. 16	1,000,000	125,762 50	70,607 48	21,352 68
Merch'ts Bank Cheraw,	Oct. 31	480,000	410,159	28,024 30	83,782 65
Bank of Camden, -	Oct. 31	315,940 75	272,950	46,867 65	70,704 44
Bank of Georgetown,	Nov. 1	200,000	173,666	29,729 39	46,775 88
Com'l Bank Columbia,	" 5	800,000	436,760	53,622 70	184,667 34
Union Bank, - - -	" 5	1,000,000	34,696 67	198,122 23	83,090 56
Bank of So. Carolina,	" 6	1,000,000	346,395	183,150 10	81,346 06
Planters & Mech's B.	" 8	1,000,000	458,935	355,006 03	168,061 44
Bank of Hamburg, -	" 12	438,500	495,545	60,857 98	123,388 75
		11,610,305 01	4,499,095 17	2,401,252 04	1,856,143 56

Same session (1839) returns of the state census make the free white inhabitants as follows:—

Spartanburg, - - - -	17,847	Darlington, - - - -	6,029
St. Philip and St. Michael,	15,661	Lexington, - - - -	5,846
Edgefield, - - - -	15,069	Colleton, - - - -	5,845
Abbeville, - - - -	14,006	Richland, - - - -	5,773
Anderson, - - - -	12,839	Lancaster, - - - -	5,509
Greenville, - - - -	12,556	Chesterfield, - - - -	5,413
Laurens, - - - -	12,382	Marlborough, - - - -	4,119
Pickens, - - - -	11,491	Kershaw, - - - -	3,947
York, - - - -	11,173	Horry, - - - -	3,930
Barnwell, - - - -	10,978	Williamsburg, - - - -	2,687
Union, - - - -	10,873	Georgetown, - - - -	2,014
Chester, - - - -	9,349	St. James, Goose Creek,	1,302
Fairfield, - - - -	9,152	St. John's Berkley, - -	812
Sumter, - - - -	8,916	St. John's, Colleton, - -	679
Marion, - - - -	8,291	St. Stephen's, - - - -	390
Newberry, - - - -	8,286	St. James' Santee, - -	283
Orangeburg, - - - -	7,392		

In the same session (1839) the committee on education, to which was referred the reports of the commissioners of free schools, for the several districts and parishes in this state, beg leave to report: That the subjoined schedule contains the number of schools established or assisted, the number of scholars taught, and the sums of money expended:—

<i>Districts and Parishes.</i>	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Scholars.</i>	<i>Expenses.</i>
Abbeville, - - - -	57	467	\$1,981 25
Horry, - - - -	9	169	300 00
Pickens, - - - -	31	248	754 37
Newberry, - - - -	45	592	1,624 06
Spartanburg, - - - -	9	190	1,500 00
Lancaster, - - - -	23	308	1,585 00
Fairfield, - - - -	22	100	1,200 00
York, - - - -	53	283	1,852 00
Darlington, - - - -	39	152	500 00
Marlborough, - - - -	18	166	547 00
Barnwell, - - - -	11	90	000 00
Union, - - - -	39	597	1,769 00
Anderson, - - - -	41	179	900 00
Lexington, - - - -	29	270	689 57
Greenville, - - - -	33	184	1,115 00
Williamsburg, - - - -	8	109	649 08
Kershaw - - - -	17	253	900 00
Chester, - - - -	48	608	1,752 24
Laurens, - - - -	30	203	1,202 71
Richland, - - - -	6	104	1,008 99
Marion, - - - -	8	290	600 00
Edgefield, - - - -	129	1257	2,214 10
Prince George, Winyaw, -	7	141	695 00
Clarendon, - - - -	8	58	606 00
Clermont, - - - -	20	104	900 00
Orange Parish, - - - -	27	253	968 18
St. Matthew's, - - - -	13	68	300 00
St. John's, Berkley, - -	3	54	651 22
St. Philip and St. Michael,	5	448	4,800 00
St. James, Goose Creek, -	3	82	300 00
St. George, Dorchester, -	13	93	223 06
St. Thomas and St. Dennis,	1	15	300 00
St. John's, Colleton, - -	6	13	not stated.
St. Helena, - - - -	2	75	600 00
St. Peter's, - - - -	0	75	626 76
St. Luke's, - - - -	8	54	729 53
St. Stephen's, - - - -	2	45	300 00
St. Bartholomew's, - - -	9	112	178 82
St. Andrew's, - - - -	1	22	300 00
Christ's Church, - - - -	2	10	300 00
All Saints, - - - -	0	116	622 00
Chesterfield, - - - -	0	256	600 00
Total,	832	8867	\$40,326 29

No returns were made from the Parishes of Prince William and St. James, Santee; and it may be added here, that the census of population, as well as schools, above given, is, doubtless, in many

small respects inaccurate—newspaper reports having been relied on.

November 25th, 1839. Great State Agricultural Convention assembles in Columbia and transacts business as follows:—

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE AGRICULTURAL CONVENTION.

In accordance with the wishes of the people of most of the districts in our state, the Delegates to the Convention assembled in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the evening of Monday, November 25th.

On motion of Dr. R. W. Gibbes, **WHITFIELD BROOKS, Esq.** was requested to take the chair, which he did. Dr. Gibbes having been called upon to act as Secretary, the meeting was organized.

The delegates having been called upon to register their names, the following gentlemen appeared and took their seats.

*From Marlborough.*—James Gillespie, W. T. Ellerbe, John McQueen.

*From Chesterfield.*—Thomas E. Powe, J. Wright.

*From Marion.*—Thomas Evans, William Evans, B. Moody.

*From Edgefield.*—W. Brooks, James Terry, A. P. Butler, J. O. Nicholson.

*From Darlington.*—Thomas E. McIver, W. H. Cannon, Sen., W. Wingate, Thomas P. Lide, J. F. Ervin.

*From Fairfield.*—J. J. Myers, J. B. Davis, W. K. Davis, J. H. Means, Edward Means, D. Elkin.

*From Chester.*—T. W. Moore, J. D. Crawford.

*From Richland.*—F. H. Elmore, Robert W. Gibbes, James Gregg, Robert Henry.

*From Sumter.*—John P. Richardson, James B. Richardson, D. St. P. DuBose, Thomas J. Wilder, Isaac Lenoir, J. W. English.

*From Anderson and Pickens.*—J. W. Norris, J. P. Reed, J. N. Garvin, Jesse M'Kinney, Thomas Pinckney.

*From Spartanburgh.*—H. H. Thompson, John Crawford, John W. Hunt, Samuel N. Evans, William K. Poole.

*From Orange and St. Matthews.*—John M. Felder, S. Glover, S. B. Dwight, Jacob Stroman, Elisha Tyler, D. F. Jamison.

*From Lancaster.*—Benjamin Massey, J. P. Crocket, M. Clinton, John M. Baskin, William Reed.

*From Abbeville.*—John A. Calhoun, P. F. Moragne, A. B. Arnold, James Fair, D. L. Wardlaw, George McDuffie.

*From Newberry.*—Simeon Fair.

*From Greenville.*—Bannister Stone.

*From Barnwell.*—Charles R. Carroll, J. H. Hammond, W. S. Reynolds, W. Gilmore Simms, James D. Erwin.

*From Lexington.*—J. A. Addison, L. Pou, J. C. Geiger, W. F. Percival, L. Boozer, H. J. Caughman.

*From St. Philip's and St. Michael's.*—F. D. Quash, W. Washington.

*From St. John's, Berkley.*—John H. Dawson, P. P. Palmer.

*From St. Andrew's.*—W. Lawton, B. R. Carroll, William J. Bull.

*From St. John's, Colleton.*—W. M. Murray, J. Jenkins Mikell.

*From St. Helena Island.*—J. A. Scott.

*From Prince Williams.*—John E. Frampton.

*From Prince George, Winyaw.*—R. F. W. Allston.

*From All Saints.*—B. F. Dunkin.

On motion of B. R. Carroll, Esq. Colonel F. H. ELMORE was unanimously elected President of the convention, and a committee of three designated to attend him to the chair.

The president having addressed the convention, and stated that the meeting was ready to receive resolutions, Dr. James B. Davis proposed the following resolution, which was passed.

*Resolved*, That the president appoint four vice presidents for this convention. Whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed :

COL. R. F. W. ALLSTON, *of Prince George, Winyaw.*

GEN. GEORGE McDUFFIE, *of Abbeville.*

GEN. JAMES GILLESPIE, *of Marlborough.*

WILLIAM ELLIOTT, Esq., *of Beaufort.*

B. R. Carroll, Esq. introduced the following resolution, which was carried.

*Resolved*, That a committee of fifteen be appointed, to arrange business for the convention.



The chair then named the following gentlemen:

B. R. CARROLL, *of St. Andrews.*

W. T. ELBERBE, *of Marlborough.*

THOMAS EVANS, *of Marion.*

WILLIAM H. CANNON, *of Darlington.*

JAMES B. DAVIS, *of Fairfield.*

J. GREGG, *of Richland.*

W. REYNOLDS, *of Barnwell.*

J. P. RICHARDSON, *of Sumter.*

A. B. ARNOLD, *of Abbeville.*

J. H. HAMMOND, *of Barnwell.*

F. D. QUASH, *of St. Philip and St. Michael.*

J. A. SCOTT, *of St. Helena Island.*

B. F. DUNKIN, *of All Saints.*

W. BROOKS, *of Edgefield.*

B. MASSEY, *of Lancaster.*

Dr. Davis moved that the committee be allowed until 6 o'clock to-morrow evening to prepare their report, which was agreed to.

On motion of Charles R. Carroll, Esq. the convention adjourned till 6 o'clock on Tuesday evening.

TUESDAY, NOV. 26, 1839.

The convention met, agreeably to appointment, at 6 o'clock. The minutes of the first meeting were read. On motion of H. J. Caughman, Esq.

It was resolved, that delegates who are present, who have not registered their names in the secretary's book, be requested to do so.

The following gentlemen appeared, enrolled their names, and took their seats.

*From Fairfield.*—W. J. Allston, John M. Robertson, Burrell B. Cook.

*From Sumter.*—Hon. J. S. Richardson.

*From Anderson.*—J. B. Reed, J. E. Calhoun.

*From Richland.*—R. H. Goodwyn, D. D. Finley.

*From Edgefield.*—M. Watson.

*From Lexington.*—H. Arthur.

*From Union.*—Z. P. Herndon.

*From Prince George, Winyaw.*—Thomas G. Carr.

The president called for the report of the committee of fifteen, when the chairman, B. R. Carroll, Esq., submitted the following

### REPORT.

The committee appointed to prepare business for the agricultural convention, beg leave respectfully to report, that after an enquiry, in which the sentiments of the different sections of our state have been consulted, they are of opinion that the following subjects are fit and proper for the consideration of the convention, viz.

1. The creation, by the legislature, of an agricultural professorship in the South Carolina College.
2. The appropriation, by the legislature, of a sum of money to defray the expenses of a geological and agricultural survey of the state.
3. The establishment of an agricultural school in some central and healthy position of the state.
4. The establishment of a state board of agriculture, to meet at Columbia or somewhere else in the state.
5. The introduction into our free schools of some elementary work on agriculture.

In limiting their recommendation to the propositions alluded to, the committee have done so with a view of not crowding upon the convention the consideration of too many topics of absorbing interest. They believe that the fault of our agricultural meetings has heretofore been, that they have attempted too much, and done too little. Hoping, therefore, that they have selected such matters as will interest the convention, they beg to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

The report having been laid before the convention for discussion, Charles R. Carroll, Esq. addressed the chair in support of its recommendations. He was followed by James H. Hammond Esq. in opposition. J. A. Calhoun, Esq., and B. R. Carroll, Esq., spoke in reply to colonel Hammond.

B. R. Carroll, Esq. moved to consider the propositions of the report separately, and to add to the first and second propositions, the words, "and that the same be recommended to the legislature;" so that it would read as follows:

1. The creation, by the legislature, of an agricultural professorship in the South Carolina College, and that the same be recommended to the legislature.

2. The appropriation, by the legislature, of a sum of money to defray the expenses of a geological and agricultural survey of the state, and that the same be recommended to the legislature.

Colonel Hammond moved to lay the first proposition on the table, which was agreed to. He then moved to lay the second proposition on the table, which was rejected. The ayes not being satisfied, the votes were taken by the tellers, when it was found that there were thirty-four ayes and fifty-seven noes. So the second proposition was before the meeting.

H. H. Thompson, Esq. moved,

“That upon that proposition there should be a division of the question, and that the vote should be taken on the propriety of recommending a geological survey, apart from an agricultural survey.”

This motion was under discussion, when it was moved by Dr. Arnold that the convention do now adjourn, to meet on to-morrow evening at half past five o'clock.

The convention then adjourned.

ROBERT W. GIBBES,  
*Secretary.*

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 27th, 1839.

The convention was organized at the hour appointed. The minutes of the previous meeting were read.

The president stated that the convention was prepared for business, and that the subject for their consideration was the “propriety of recommending to the legislature a geological survey, apart from an agricultural survey of the state.”

General McDuffie addressed the convention in favor of the resolution, which was carried by a large majority.

The question was then put on the second part of the proposition, as divided, viz: “On the propriety of recommending to the legislature an agricultural survey of the state,” and carried by a vote of thirty-eight ayes, thirty-two noes.

The question then recurred on the second original proposition, as reported by committee as follows:

"The appropriation, by the legislature, of a sum of money to defray the expenses of a geological and agricultural survey of the state, and that the same be recommended to the legislature," which was agreed to.

The third, fourth and fifth propositions were put and rejected.

The report of the committee, as amended, was then submitted to the meeting, and adopted; and, on motion of Dr. A. B. Arnold, the president was requested to transmit a copy to both branches of the legislature.

### THE REPORT, AS ADOPTED.

The committee appointed to prepare business for the agricultural convention, beg leave respectfully to report, that after an enquiry, in which the sentiments of the different sections of our state have been consulted, they are of opinion that the following is a fit subject for the consideration of the convention, viz :

The appropriation, by the legislature, of a sum of money to defray the expenses of a geological and agricultural survey of the state, and that the same be recommended to the legislature.

In limiting their recommendation to the proposition alluded to, the committee have done so with the view of not crowding upon the convention the consideration of too many topics of absorbing interest. They believe that the fault of our agricultural meetings has heretofore been, that they have attempted too much, and done too little. Hoping, therefore, that they have selected such a matter as will interest the convention, they beg to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject intrusted to them.

At the request of J. M. Felder, Esq., the Hon. A. P. Butler, who had voted in the affirmative, moved a re-consideration of the report, in order that he might propose an amendment thereto, which was agreed to. He then proposed the following amendment to the report:

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the legislature to take measures to secure a sound and stable currency in this state.

Major Felder spoke at length in favor of his motion. Hon. A. P. Butler said a few words in opposition, and proposed to lay it on the table, which was carried.



Dr. James B. Davis then introduced the following resolutions.

1. *Resolved*, That a state agricultural society be formed forthwith, to meet in Columbia.

2. *Resolved*, That the society be recommended to establish an annual fair and stock show in the town of Columbia, with suitable premiums for the finest animals exhibited, &c. The exhibition to be held on the first week of the session.

3. *Resolved*, That the society be also recommended to offer suitable premiums for the best lots of cotton, best variety of corn, small grain, &c.

4. *Resolved*, That the society be also recommended to offer suitable premiums for the best essay on the culture of rice, corn, small grain, cotton and the grasses, embracing in each essay a complete manual in the whole operations of a plantation, of each of these products, of suitable size, comprehending management of negroes, improving lands, &c.

5. *Resolved*, That said society be divided into committees allotted to each and every distinct branch of agriculture, embracing geology, introduction of foreign seeds, &c.

6. *Resolved*, That the society provide the means of paying these premiums by an annual tax on the members.

7. *Resolved*, That the convention recommend to each district to form agricultural societies.

These resolutions were seconded by colonel J. H. Hammond, in a speech of some length.

W. Brooks, Esq. proposed the following amendment, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That as an efficient auxiliary towards the accomplishment of this high and honorable purpose, it is expedient to aid in the establishment of a cheap agricultural paper, to be issued weekly, at the seat of government, and that the same be recommended to the patronage of the public.

Dr. Davis proposed the following amendment to his resolutions, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That this convention recommend to public patronage, as a means of diffusing agricultural information, such papers as may

be published in the state, having for their object the diffusion of all matters pertaining to agriculture.

J. E. Calhoun, Esq., moved to lay on the table the last two resolutions relating to agricultural papers, which motion was rejected.

General J. H. Adams called for a division of the question on Dr. Davis' resolutions, and that the first resolution be considered separately, which was agreed to, and the resolution adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That a state agricultural society be formed forthwith to meet in Columbia.

Dr. Davis then moved,

That a committee of nine be appointed by the chair, to report to this convention, to-morrow evening, a proper plan for the organization of a state society, and that the remaining six resolutions of Dr. Davis be referred to them. Agreed to.

B. B. Cook, Esq. moved,

That this convention recommend to the legislature to require the several tax collectors of this state, to take a return, annually, of the sums paid by each person in their respective districts and parishes, for western produce, viz : for hogs, horses and mules, and make a return thereof to such officer as they may direct. This resolution was adopted, and, on motion of major Felder, his resolution was taken up and referred to the committee of nine.

The president announced the following gentlemen to compose the committee.

HON. GEORGE McDUFFIE, *of Abbeville*,  
DR. JAMES B. DAVIS, *of Fairfield*,  
HON. J. P. RICHARDSON, *of Sumter*,  
HON. B. F. DUNKIN, *of All Saints*,  
HON. JAMES GREGG, *of Richland*,  
HON. R. F. W. ALLSTON, *of Prince George, Winyaw*,  
COL. THOMAS PINCKNEY, *of Pendleton*,  
W. BROOKS, Esq., *of Edgefield*,  
W. GILMORE SIMMS, Esq., *of Barnwell*.

The president read a communication from Dr. S. Blanding, presenting two copies of the New England Farmer, from Mr. J. Breck, of Boston, which was referred to the committee of nine.

W. Gilmore Simms, Esq. introduced the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, in consequence of the scattered condition of our settlements throughout the country, the present plan of poor school education is found inoperative in most instances, and partial and unsatisfactory in all—those towns and cities alone excepted, where the number of pupils is sufficiently great to justify the employment of competent teachers.

Be it recommended to the general assembly of the state now in session,

That a tract of land not to contain less than fifteen hundred nor more than five thousand acres, centrally chosen, or as nearly so as practicable, be procured in each of the districts, with which the poor establishment of such district, shall thenceforward be endowed—that on the said tract of land, suitable buildings shall be erected for the reception and accommodation of such a number of poor boys, as, according to the census of the district, it shall be likely to contain—that provision be made of all the usual and necessary utensils for farm culture, as practised in said district—that it be moderately stocked with horses, cattle, sheep, and all such other animals as are found useful in such an establishment—that, when this is done, a teacher of known intelligence and integrity be procured, who shall receive an adequate salary for the tuition of all pupils who may be placed under his care by the commissioners of the said district—and that, for certain periods of the day, and in certain classes and divisions, to be hereafter determined by the commissioners, he shall have entire control of their studies and their time—that, at all other periods, the said pupils shall be placed under the control of a competent superintendant or overseer, who shall direct their labors and industry while preparing them, as farmers and planters, for the proper performance of such duties in after life as may seem best to correspond with their condition and necessities. And that the commissioners of each district be empowered to receive as indented apprentices to the poor school of said district, on behalf of the state, all such boys, the parents of whom may be found desirous of securing for them the advantages of such tuition, and all such orphans as, governed by a praise-worthy ambition, may be willing to avail themselves of the same—the term of

apprenticeship in no case to be less than three, nor more than seven years—unless in the case of such youth as may be already greatly advanced towards the years and purposes of manhood, and who, at the discretion of the commissioners, may be received for a still shorter period.

Be it recommended yet farther, that, on the same plantation or tract of land, but removed from close proximity to the dwellings and the school house of the boys, there be erected suitable houses for the reception and accommodation of poor girls, who shall be placed under the tuition of one or more female superintendants, from whom they shall learn the ordinary elements of a plain English education—and in addition, such duties of a farm and household, as commonly devolve upon females in our country—that they shall spin, weave and sew; attend to poultry and the dairy, the culture of the silk-worm, if it be deemed advisable, and be taught also to fashion and make their own and the habits of the boys—the latter, in turn, performing all those severer labors of the plantation as will yield sufficient food and provision for both establishments.

Be it farther recommended, that, in addition to the studies of the ordinary English grammar school, the master of the male department shall be required to instruct his pupils in a competent knowledge of simple land surveying.

It is recommended, also, that the dress of the boys be made uniform, and that the elder boys, ranging from the years of fifteen to eighteen, be provided with light muskets, and be subjected to the drill and instruction, once a month, of the neighborhood captain of militia.

*Resolved*, That these recommendations be respectfully submitted to the general assembly, with the prayer of this convention, that they be subjected to examination and experiment, in three of the districts of the state, in order that their operation may be witnessed previous to their general adoption as a system for all the districts. That, in order that the experiment should be fairly made, the districts so chosen, should lie, one in each of the grand divisions of the state, the upper, the middle and the lower country; and that the present commissioners of the districts chosen, be requested to take charge of the entire subject.



The preamble and resolutions having been submitted, Mr. J. E. Calhoun moved that they be laid on the table, which was agreed to. Mr. J. A. Calhoun, of Abbeville, than moved that the convention do now adjourn to meet to-morrow evening at half past 5 o'clock, which motion prevailed, and the convention adjourned.

ROBERT W GIBBES,

*Secretary.*

THURSDAY, NOV. 28th, 1839.

The convention met at the appointed hour. The minutes of the previous meeting were read. The president called for the report of the committee of nine, whereupon the chairman stated that the committee were not fully prepared to submit their report, and asked the indulgence of the convention until to-morrow evening, which, upon taking the vote, was agreed to.

The following delegates appeared and enrolled their names:

*From Darlington*—Alexander Sparks,

*From Union*—E. C. Johnson,

*From St. Philip's and St. Michael's*—J. Rose.

*From St. James, Goose Creek*--John Wilson.

*From All Saints*—Edward Tho. Heriot.

John A. Calhoun, Esq. introduced the following resolution: •

*Resolved*, That the trustees of the South Carolina college be requested to have delivered, by the professor of chemistry, in addition to his other duties, a course of lectures on agricultural chemistry, provided that they do not interfere with his regular duties.

Dr. Gibbes moved an amendment to the resolution, to insert after the words "agricultural chemistry" the words "and also on the principles of geology," which was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was unanimously adopted.

W. S. Reynolds, Esq. moved the appointment of a committee of three to communicate the resolution to the president of the trustees, whereupon the president designated,

Dr. W. S. REYNOLDS, HON. A. P. BUTLER, HON. J. S. RICHARDSON.

The president informed the convention that he had received from Mr. R. E. Russell, proprietor of the botanic garden in Columbia,

with a request that he would present them to the society, a loaf of beet sugar from France, and several beautiful specimens of native silk, which were laid before the convention.

F. D. Quash, Esq. moved,

That the convention return their thanks to Mr. R. E. Russell for the specimens of sugar and silk presented by him, and also to Mr. J. Breck, of Boston, for the pamphlets on agriculture presented by him.

The president requested to know what disposition he should make of the specimens before him; whereupon it was moved by Mr.

—————,  
That they be presented to the secretary, which was unanimously agreed to.

W. Gilmore Simms, Esq. introduced the following resolutions, with a request that they should be laid on the table, which was agreed to.

*Resolved*, That no people can be capable of self government, who require to be deceived as to the amount of their government expenses; and that no man can be held a freeman, who dare not look the cost of his liberties in the face.

*Resolved*, Therefore, that direct taxation, while it saves the citizen from the constant impositions of the cunning, is the only honest, cheap, safe medium for raising supplies in a country like ours.

*Resolved*, That it is a fraud upon the public, whenever a bank, or other chartered corporation, declares a dividend upon borrowed money, or upon any basis, other than its clear receipts and good faith profits.

*Resolved*, That if it be not an usurpation, it is, at least, an abuse of power, on the part of the legislature, to tax the citizen for any but the unquestionable exigences and expenses of the country; and that most alliances between the state and any one class of its citizens, in trade or speculation, must result unfavorably to that wholesome competition of other classes of the community from which the people derive many of their chief securities.

On motion of Hon. J. P. Richardson, the convention adjourned to meet at 6 o'clock to-morrow evening.

ROBERT W. GIBBES, *Secretary*.

FRIDAY, NOV. 29th, 1839.

The convention convened this evening at the hour appointed. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read.

The president called for reports of committees.

General McDuffie submitted, from the committee of nine, the form of a constitution for a state agricultural society, and several resolutions.

The constitution having been discussed and amended, was adopted. The resolutions were also adopted, as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the president be allowed time to nominate the committees, and that he do appoint a committee to select the best essay on the cultivation of rice and cotton, respectively; each of such essays to embrace a complete manual, of suitable size, exhibiting the whole economy of a plantation; comprehending management of negroes, rearing of stock, and improvement of lands, and that he do provide a suitable premium for the same.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to memorialize the legislature to grant an annual donation of the sum of five hundred dollars. for the term of three years, to aid the society in providing its premiums.

3. That this society do request the members from the several districts, to use their exertion to have local societies formed in each district, to be affiliated with this society—and that it be recommended to such local societies, to offer premiums for the best managed plantation in their respective districts, as well as for superiority in particular departments and products.

The committee ask leave to report on Mr. Felder's resolution—

That while they consider the resolution as of vast importance to the true interest of the agricultural community, they are yet of opinion, that none of its importance will escape the reflection or elude the vigilance of the legislature. They deem it advisable, therefore, to leave it to the ordinary legislation, in the confidence and hope that they will give it the consideration which its importance demands.

The committee recommend the following gentlemen as officers of the state agricultural society.

HIS EXCELLENCY PATRICK NOBLE, *President.*

W. B. SEABROOK, *Vice President.*

COL. W. BROOKS, " "

COL. W. K. CLOWNEY, "

COL. JAMES GREGG, "

CHANC. B. F. DUNKIN, "

B. R. CARROL, *Corresponding Secretary,*

DR. R. W. GIBBES, *Recording Secretary and Treasurer.*

On motion of J. H. Hammond, Esq., GEN. GEORGE McDUFFIE was unanimously appointed anniversary orator for 1840.

Gen. McDuffie proposed to consider the constitution clause by clause, and the resolutions separately; all of which, after some discussion, were adopted.

Whitfield Brooks, Esq. introduced the following resolutions, with a request that they should be laid on the table, which was agreed to.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention, the multiplication of banks in this state, invested with the legal right of substituting credit for capital, to three times the amount of the latter, and the imputed and ruinous practice of many, of exceeding their chartered limits, from five to seven fold, has had the effect of changing almost the entire currency of the country, from gold and silver, to paper; of substituting for a metallic currency, of permanent and intrinsic value, one of paper, of uncertain and fluctuating value—that one of the natural and inevitable effects of this system has been, to drive the more valuable currency from circulation, to be transported to other countries, or to be hoarded in the vaults of these chartered institutions.

*Resolved*, That another consequence, no less injurious to the country, has been produced by the prodigal issue of a paper currency, of producing two standards of value in the markets of Europe and this country; the one foreign, which is regulated by gold and silver metals, of intrinsic and uniform value among all nations, and the other domestic, which is regulated and controlled by paper, that to two-thirds of the amount of its circulation depends upon credit for the standard of value, which is, therefore, always fluctuating with the expansions and contractions of bank issues. That in consequence of this state of things, the planter of cotton is forced to sell his pro-



duce at a price regulated by gold and silver, and purchase every article of consumption by a paper standard in the domestic market.

*Resolved*, That the legalized privilege of the banks, and their prodigal use of it, has mainly contributed to the wild and ruinous speculations which have characterized the present age, and to produce the late and existing derangement of the currency, with all the accompanying evils of bank suspensions, the fall in the price of the great staple of the southern states, and the paralyzed condition of trade.

*Resolved*, That the only remedy for the evils complained of, is founded in the anticipation of a mild, gradual and judicious reform in the currency of the state, by that department of the government to which is intrusted the guardianship of the great interests of the community.

*Resolved*, That we entertain the highest confidence in the intelligence, wisdom and patriotism of the legislative department, for the adoption of such provisions, by law, as will effect a wise, safe and gradual reform, in which no short sighted policy shall be permitted, that may do injustice to these institutions, or violence to the existing relations of society.

*Resolved*, That our chief dependence of right should be, and in fact must be, upon the efforts of the agricultural community to work out their own deliverance and independence, by united and harmonious concert of action among themselves—to introduce and encourage improved methods of fertilizing the soil by popular and scientific modes of cultivation—by the practice of economy, and especially by the production at home, of all the articles of domestic consumption.

W. J. Alston, Esq. proposed the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted, after free discussion.

*Whereas*, Good roads are indispensable to the agricultural prosperity, as well as beneficial to the general interests of any country—and no labor being more profitable in its results than that judiciously bestowed upon roads—and whereas, the notoriously bad condition of many of the most important roads in this state, affords ample testimony of the utter inadequacy of the existing laws on this subject—and independent of their inefficiency, their operation is unequal and

unjust, inasmuch as they impose upon the owner of male slaves, and those residing nearest the chief market roads, the burthen of keeping in repair the public highways—exonerating all other classes—the merchants, the stock-jobbers, and the speculators of every cast, from their just share of this burthen.

Be it therefore *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention, it is the duty of the legislature, either to remedy the defects of the present system, or to substitute another and better in its stead.

Maj. J. M. Felder moved the following resolutions, which he proposed to lay on the table, with the consent of the convention.

*Resolved*, That as the agricultural interests generally become the first victims of a fluctuating, disordered and corrupt currency, the legislature be respectfully requested to take such measures, as will restore and secure to this state, a sound and stable currency.

*Resolved*, That as one step towards this desirable result, the legislature be respectfully solicited to restrain all banks from issuing any bank bills of a less denomination than five dollars.

*Resolved*, That this convention solemnly protest against borrowing any money or issuing any more bonds or stocks on the credit and faith of the state; and if any more money must be raised for the necessary purposes of an economical government, that the same be raised by a direct tax on the people.

B. R. Carroll, Esq. submitted the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That the committee of three be appointed to memorialize the legislature of this state, on the different subjects recommended and acted upon by this convention.

The president named the following gentlemen as the committee.

B. R. CARROLL, ESQ.,—CHANC. DUNKIN,—HON. J. GREGG.

Mr. Davis proposed the following resolutions.

*Resolved*, That copies of the proceedings of this convention be furnished by the secretary, to the Carolinian and Telescope newspapers of this town, for publication, and that the principal papers of this state, friendly to the interests of agriculture, be requested to copy them into their columns.

The president of the convention having retired,

On motion of B. R. Carroll, Esq., Col. J. H. HAMMOND was requested to take the chair, which having been done,

On motion of Dr. W. S. Reynolds, it was,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this convention be presented to the Hon. Mr. Elmore, for the courtesy and impartiality with which he has presided over its deliberations--and also to Dr. R. W. Gibbes, for his diligence, industry and general attention to the wants and wishes of the convention.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this convention be returned to the House of Representatives for the use of their Hall,

These resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The president having made his acknowledgements to the convention, expressed the interest he felt in the objects of the convention, and recommended an earnest, united and persevering attention to these objects.

On motion, the Society then adjourned.

R. W. GIBBES, *Secretary*.

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## CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

We, the undersigned, do hereby form ourselves into an association, to be devoted to the improvement of the agriculture and agricultural economy of the state.

1st. The association shall be styled, The State Agricultural Society of South Carolina.

2nd. Its objects shall be strictly agricultural and rural.

3d. All persons subscribing and paying to the treasurer the sum of five dollars, shall be eligible as members.

4th. The society will receive, as members, (at its annual meeting,) one delegate from a district or neighborhood society.

5th. There shall be a President, five Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer, and an Anniversary Orator, who shall be annually elected by the society.

6th. The society shall meet annually, in the town of Columbia, during the first week of the session of the legislature; at which time there shall be an exhibition and cattle show for premiums.

7th. A quorum of the society shall consist of not less than twenty members, including the president or a vice president.

8th. The president shall preside at all meetings, and in his absence a vice president.

9th. The president, with a majority of the vice presidents, shall have power to call special meetings of the society; but such meeting shall be announced in one or more of the agricultural papers of the state, at least thirty days before the time at which it is to be held.

10th. The committees shall be appointed by the president.

11th. There shall be a committee on cotton, whose province it shall be to collect all facts relative to the growing crop, the amount produced, the kind most profitable, together with such observations thereto relating, as may be useful to the society, and to award such premiums as may be provided for by the society.

12th. There shall be similar committees on rice, corn and small grain, with similar powers and duties.

13th. There shall be a committee on stock, whose duty it shall be to report the best mode of rearing, the best variety, and to examine and award at the show the premiums for the same.

14th. It shall be the duty of the president to publish, six months before the meeting, the kind and age of the stock to be shown, also of the products to be exhibited, and to specify in said notice the respective premiums.

15th. The society, in prescribing premiums for stock, shall have reference to improvement in the stock of the country.

16th. The president shall sign such orders on the treasury, as a majority of each committee shall have drawn in the performance of their duties.

17th. The treasurer shall collect all monies due to the society, pay all orders drawn in due form, and keep the accounts regularly stated in the books of the society.

18th. It shall be the duty of the corresponding secretary to revise all communications, before they shall be made public by authority of the society.

19th. It shall be the duty of the recording secretary to keep and preserve the books and papers of the society, and to prepare its proceedings for publication.

*(Here follow the signatures.)*



November 29th, 1839.

The state agricultural society of South Carolina, was organized by WHITFIELD BROOKS, Esq., a vice president, taking the chair.

The constitution was read, as recommended by the agricultural convention, and adopted.

The following gentlemen were elected officers by nomination by the same committee.

His Excellency, P. NOBLE, *President*.

W. B. SEABROOK, Esq., *Vice President*.

Col. W. BROOKS, " "

Col. W. K. CLOWNEY, " "

Col. J. GREGG, " "

Chanc. B. F. DUNKIN, " "

B. R. CARROLL, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary*,

R. W. GIBBES, M. D., *Recording Secretary and Treasurer*.

Gen. George McDUFFIE, *Anniversary Orator*.

On motion of Simeon Fair, Esq., the society adjourned until tomorrow evening, to meet for a more perfect organization.

ROBERT W. GIBBES, *Secretary*.

SATURDAY, Nov. 30th, 1839.

The society met at 6 o'clock. The president took his seat, and addressed the society on the objects of the association, in a short but impressive speech.

The minutes of the last meeting were read. The roll was called, and it appeared that seventy gentlemen had become members.

The president informed the society that the meeting was prepared for business, and open for resolutions. Major Ellerbe introduced the following.

*Resolved*, That two-thirds of the members present at the meeting of the society, shall be necessary to make any alteration in the constitution of the society.

This resolution was adopted.

Dr. Davis proposed the following resolutions, which were agreed to.

*Resolved*, That the anniversary be commemorated by a dinner, and that stewards be appointed by the president to superintend the same.

*Resolved*, That Dr. Gibbes be requested and authorized to prepare a lot for the exhibition of stock, at our next annual meeting.

Major Ellerbe moved,

That Thursday after the 4th Monday in November be the anniversary, and that the dinner shall take place on that day. Agreed to.

J. A. Calhoun, Esq. introduced a preamble and resolutions as follows :

Whereas, it is a matter of the first moment to check emigration from our state as much as possible ; and whereas, the great source from which emigration originates, is in the comparison of our worn out fields with the fertile plains of the west—and whereas, the only means of preventing this unfavorable comparison and deplorable result, is to improve our lands by the most speedy means practicable ;

Therefore, be it resolved,

1st. That this society do recommend to the planters and farmers of our state, the adoption of the most energetic means of improving our lands under existing circumstances, as far as may be compatible with their present condition.

2nd. That a committee of three be appointed by the president of this society, whose duty it shall be to report to the next annual meeting of this society, as to the best means of improving our lands under existing circumstances. Adopted.

Col. Pinckney proposed the following resolution, which was agreed to.

*Resolved*, That all persons engaged in planting, farming, horticulture, or breeding stock, are earnestly recommended to publish from time to time, in the agricultural papers of the state, the results of their observation and experience.

Col R. F. W. Allston moved,

That when this society adjourns, it do so to meet on the 4th Monday in November next, at 6 o'clock P. M. Agreed to.

On motion of Dr. Davis, the society adjourned.

ROBERT W. GIBBES, *Secretary*.

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April, 1840. Governor Noble dies. Is succeeded by lieutenant governor Henegan.



[From the Columbia Telescope.]

## AN INTERESTING PUBLIC DOCUMENT.

We have never seen the following document in print, which we now publish from the original manuscript, in the possession of a gentleman of this town. It gives us an account of a brilliant affair in our revolution, drawn up at the time by the chief actors in it, and expressed in the plain, strong style that belonged to the period. This, with very many other battles in the south, have never attracted the applause, or attained the historical notoriety, which have attended the revolutionary incidents of similar magnitude in other quarters; and, indeed, so much more has been written concerning the revolutionary incidents of the north, and so much more been done by the people and the states in that section to commemorate and signalize them, that the present generation in the neighborhood of Cowpens and King's Mountain, know more about Bunker's Hill and Lexington, and more of Stark and Putnam, than of Pickens or Campbell.

—No monument, inscription stone,  
Their race, their deeds, their names, almost unknown.

We have always thought that those battle-fields in our state, which were illustrated by the gallantry and devotion of our ancestors, should be marked by permanent mementos, at the cost of the state--every one, from Fort Moultrie to King's Mountain; and he who would carry such a measure through the legislature, would himself deserve a monument.

"A state of the proceedings of the Western Army, from the 25th day of September, 1780, to the reduction of Major Ferguson and the Army under his command.

On receiving intelligence that Major Ferguson had advanced up as high as Gilbert Town in Rutherford County, and threatened to cross the Mountains to the Western Waters--

Col. William Campbell, with four hundred men from Washington County of Virginia, Col. Isaac Shelby, with two hundred and



forty men from Sullivan county of North Carolina, and Lieut. Col. John Sevier, with two hundred and forty men from Washington county of North Carolina, assembled at Wattauga, on the 25th day of September, where they were joined by Col. Charles M'Dowell, with one hundred and sixty men from the counties of Burk and Rutherford, who had fled before the enemy to the Western Waters. We began our march on the 26th, and on the 30th we were joined by Col. Cleaveland, on the Cataba River, with three hundred and fifty men from the Counties of Wilkes and Surry. No one officer having properly a right to the command in chief, on the first of October we dispatched an express to Major General Gates, informing him of our situation, and requested him to send a General Officer to take the command of the whole. In the mean time Col. Campbell was chosen to act as commandant till such General Officer should arrive. We marched to the Cowpens on Broad River in South Carolina, where we were joined by Col. James Williams with four hundred men, on the evening of the 6th of October, who informed us that the enemy lay encamped some where near the Cherokee ford of Broad River, about 30 miles distant from us; by a council of the principle officers, it was then thought advisable to pursue the enemy that night, with nine hundred of the best horsemen, and leave the weak horse and foot men to follow as fast as possible. We began our march with 900 of the best men about 8 o'clock the same evening; and marching all night came up with the enemy about 3 o'clock P. M. on the 7th, who lay encamped on the Top of King's Mountain 12 miles north of the Cherokee ford, in the confidence that they could not be forced from so advantageous a post. Previous to the attack, on our march, the following disposition was made. Col. Shelby's regiment formed a column in the centre of the left, Col. Campbell's regiment another on the right; part of Col. Cleveland's regiment, headed in front by Major Winston, and Col. Sevier's regiment, formed a large column on the right Wing; the other part of Col. Cleveland's regiment, headed by Col. Cleveland himself, and Col. Williams' regiment, composed the left wing; in this order we advanced and got within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before we were discovered. Col. Shelby's & Col. Campbell's regiments began the attack, and kept up a fire on the

enemy, while the right and left Wings were advancing forward to surround them, which was done in about five minutes and the fire became general all around; the engagement lasted an hour and five minutes, the greatest part of which time an heavy and incessant fire was kept up on both sides; our men in some parts where the regulars fought were obliged to give way a small distance, two or three times, but rallied and returned with additional ardour to the attack. The troops upon the right having gained the Summit of the Eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge to where Col. Cleveland commanded, and were there stopt by his brave men; a flag was immediately hoisted by Captain Depoisture then commanding officer (Major Ferguson having been killed a little before) for a surrender; our fire immediately ceased, and the enemy laid down there arms, the greater part of them charged, and surrendered themselves prisoners to us at discretion.

It appears from their own provision returns for that day, found in their camp, that their whole force consisted of eleven hundred and twenty-five men—out of which they sustained the following loss. Of the regulars, one Major, one Captain, 2 Sergeants and fifteen privates killed, thirty-five privates wounded left on the ground not able to march. Two Captains, four Lieutenants, three Ensigns, one Surgeon, five Sergeants, three corporals, one drummer and 49 privates taken prisoners; loss of the tories, Two Colonels, three Captains, and 201 privates killed; one Major and 127 privates wounded and left on the ground not able to march; One Colonel, twelve Captains, eleven Lieutenants, two Ensigns; one Quarter Master, one Adjutant, two Commissarys, eighteen Sergeants, and 600 privates taken prisoners. Total loss of the enemy 1105 men at King's Mountain.

Given under our hands at Camp.

WM. CAMPBELL.

ISAAC SHELBY.

BENJ. CLEVELAND."

















